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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JULY, 1927

A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD¹

VISCOUNT BRYCE was, on his father's side, of pure Scottish blood ; and his mother was Northern Irish with a Celtic strain in her composition. Mr. Fisher says that he usually refused to call himself either Scottish, Irish, or English. 'I think,' he said, 'that I am a citizen of the world.' He was born in Belfast, where he spent the first eight years of his life ; then his father became a master in the High School at Glasgow, where the boy received his education in High School and College until he entered Oxford University at the age of nineteen. Thence forward his life was spent at an English University, at the English Bar, in journalism, and Parliament, till he became British Ambassador to the United States. His biographer describes him as 'a man of the widest horizons. He had a planetary mind. It would perhaps be no exaggeration to surmise that in his knowledge of this planet and its inhabitants he stands first so far among the descendants of Adam. Let it be remembered that he had travelled in every part of the globe save the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, and Java, using his eyes and ears all day and a great part of the night, and employing every opportunity for learning what the best authorities had to tell of the lands through which he voyaged ; that he was geologist, botanist, historian, lawyer, politician, mountain climber ; that his memory was of extraordinary

¹ *James Bryce. Viscount Bryce of Dechmont, O.M.* By H. A. L. Fisher, Warden of New College, Oxford. Two vols. (Macmillan & Co., 1927).

strength and vividness; that he lived with faculties unimpaired to the age of eighty-three; that his circle of friends and acquaintances in all civilized countries, more particularly in the United States, was very large—so that he had probably in the course of his long and strenuous life seen more places, known more knowledgeable people, studied more sciences, and read more instructive printed matter, than anybody in the modern world whose name occurs to me. His knowledge was never idle information. It had quality as well as quantity; it was accumulated for a purpose and served a purpose, being part of the material which he required to complete his understanding of the world in which he lived.

As a young anti-burgher minister at Wick, Bryce's grandfather had been suspended by his Synod for preaching in a burgher church. He went over to Antrim, where he took charge of a very poor congregation. Alone among his brethren he declined to accept the Regium Donum, or Royal Bounty, because of the conditions attached to it, and faced obloquy and poverty for himself and his eleven children. His wife shared his spirit, taught Greek and Latin to her children and the village lads, and contributed articles to the magazines. They were blessed in their sons. One became head of the Belfast Academy and minister of a Presbyterian church in the city, and a leader in the educational and religious life of Northern Ireland. Another was a well-known physician in Belfast; the fourth was a noted homoeopathic physician in Edinburgh; the youngest was head of the Edinburgh Collegiate School. Viscount Bryce's father, James, was a distinguished geologist and mathematical master in Glasgow. He was a pioneer in the teaching of science, and combined with his important work in geology and mathematics an eager love of natural beauty in all its forms. His portrait shows a spacious brow and a mingled air of force and refinement in every line of his face. He married Margaret Young, the eldest daughter of a leading Belfast merchant. Soon after her marriage she

became more or less of an invalid, but 'remained an attractive and dominating figure, drawing on a wealth of spiritual resources and living a full and eager life in her quiet room.'

Her eldest son was born on May 10, 1838. His boyhood was one of romantic enjoyment. His Bible brought with it the sentiment of the East and of high antiquity, and before he was twelve he knew most of the peaks of the Bernese Oberland and the Pennines, and could have given the height of many of them. At Glasgow College he gained much from William Ramsay, the Professor of Latin, and Edmund Lushington, Tennyson's brother-in-law, who was Greek Professor. The long summers were a constant delight. At the seaside or in the Highlands the youth swam, boated, fished, or climbed mountains to his heart's content. One summer in Antrim he was taken by his father on his geological excursions, and mountain climbing became a passion; another summer was spent in the Lake Country with his uncle, who was living at Kendal. In 1851 his father took James and his younger brother, Annan, to the Exhibition in London. It was the first ever attempted, and made a profound impression, drawing samples of raw materials, as well as of manufactured goods, from every part of the world. The boys learnt there a great deal about distant countries which gave an unwonted stimulus to curiosity.

James sat for a scholarship at Trinity in June 1857, and, despite his refusal to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, which was much talked of and produced a good effect, 'that awful Scotch fellow who outwrote everybody' headed the five who were elected out of twenty-seven competitors. He became a member of the intellectual Balliol set, and in 1861 was 'distinctly the best' of the two First Classes in Greats, and had the signal and unusual honour of being publicly complimented by the examiners. He gained the Gaisford prize for a Greek essay on 'The Plague of London,' the Gaisford Greek verse prize, and the Vinerian scholarship in law. He worked ten hours a day in preparation for Greats,

but did not forget to cultivate those friendships which he looked upon as one of the principal advantages of Oxford. He was President of the Union in 1862. To George Trevelyan, Bryce seemed to tower above the brilliant group of Oxford men, though it included R. S. Wright, William Sidgwick, and Lyulph Stanley. Bryce was greatly stirred by events in Italy, and was only deterred from joining Garibaldi when his tutor told him that military service in a foreign country would be regarded as incompatible with a Trinity scholarship.

In April 1861 he was with a small reading party at Freshwater. There he was invited to Tennyson's house, where the poet talked eagerly about many things with him and Jowett. He praised Pope's Homer and censured Matthew Arnold's translations in English hexameters, maintaining that Homer ought to be, and could be, rendered into blank verse line for line. Bryce left at 10.40 p.m., immensely delighted with the good fortune which his parents had procured for him.

He took pupils after he had obtained his degree, and in April 1862 was elected to a Fellowship at Oriel. In the summer of 1863 he was at Heidelberg, studying law and perfecting his knowledge of German. There he formed many friendships, and felt a genuine affection and admiration for the great qualities of the German people which remained unimpaired until the shock of the Great War. He was called to the Bar in 1867, and received his first brief in 1868, but he soon turned aside to other fields. *The Holy Roman Empire* had won the Arnold prize in 1862, and when published, 'greatly changed and enlarged,' in 1864, Freeman called it the first complete and connected view of the Mediaeval Empire ever given to English readers. For a young man of twenty-six, Mr. Fisher says, it was a wonderful feat of learning and intellectual force. For the first time the idea of the Empire as an active agency in the lives of generations was made thoroughly intelligible to the general public. It must be judged 'by the power with which it illumines one of

the central truths of history.' So judged, it will 'continue to stand the test of time and to pass from one end to the other of the republic of letters.'

He went to Rome with two friends in 1864, thinking that he might very possibly turn Catholic there. He says, however, that the influences 'lead one rather towards the religion of Cicero than towards that of Antonelli. The worship of modern Italy, so far as one can judge from the outside, is paganism, and a paganism unredeemed by the virtues of the ancients, a paganism which is superstitious without faith and sceptical without philosophy. . . . Speaking generally, one would say that Rome, if it influenced men's religion at all, would make of the strong sceptics, and Catholics only of the weak.' What distinguished Rome from all other places in the world was the tremendous consciousness of the past with which it pressed upon one. 'The taste, the beauty, the sense of external order characteristic of Roman religion, did not compensate for the superstition or the levities which Bryce found everywhere prevalent among the Catholic populace of Rome.' He returned 'immune to the seduction of Catholic worship, yet alive to the great part which the Roman Church has played in human history, and conscious of its many and conspicuous services to the consolation and support of mankind.'

In 1865 he was appointed an Assistant Commissioner to inspect endowed, proprietary, and private schools for boys and girls in Lancashire, Salop, Worcester, Wales, and other parts, in connexion with a Royal Commission set up under the chairmanship of Lord Taunton. That congenial office introduced him to the life of the industrial North and the more serious section of Lancashire society. His reports brought out the poverty of commercial education and the meagre opportunities for the education of girls. 'He urged that any scheme of educational reform must be comprehensive, that it must regard boys' schools and girls' schools, elementary schools and secondary schools, night

schools and day schools, technical schools and universities, as part of a single plan.' This was embodied long afterwards in the Education Act of 1918. Bryce now formed an acquaintance with Miss Emily Davies, lectured at her college at Hitchin, and became an original member of Girton, to which she removed in 1873. He also lectured on law at Owens College, Manchester, of which he became a professor. He had an important share in the constitution of the college, now on its way to become the University of Manchester. He formed a high estimate of the people. 'They wear a greater look of earnest restlessness and resolution to get on, a sort of rude, rough vigour, determined to jostle obstacles out of its way they have, such as neither the lean, hungry-eyed Yankee nor the shrewd, thrifty Scot equals, though each is perhaps as successful. England gets quite one half of its curiously mixed, complicated character from these northern people.'

In March 1865 he visited Newman at the Oratory. 'He received me very kindly, with a sort of grave, sweet simplicity which, coming from so old a man, has in it something inexpressibly touching; and we had a long conversation, he giving me lunch and showing me over his library and then chapel. He looks very aged, hair more white than silvery, body stooped, a very large, prominent nose and large chin, brow which seems good, though one can't see it for the tangled hair falling over it; an air of melancholy, as of one who has passed through terrible struggles, yet of serenity, as of one who has found peace. Not a priest in his manner—still an Englishman more than a Roman Catholic. He spoke freely about Gladstone and the controversy, but we talked chiefly about old Oxford. On the whole, he quite came up to the expectations one had formed all these years during which one has been hearing so much of him. There was music going on part of the time; he appeared to enjoy it intensely; plays himself, moreover.'

In 1870 Bryce accepted the Regius Chair of Civil Law at

Oxford. In alternate years he had to present, in complimentary Latin, the recipients of honorary degrees. The teaching of law had become a sinecure, but the University now resolved to make it substantial. Bryce had to deliver public lectures, examine for legal degrees, and share in the direction of legal studies. He usually spent his week-ends in Oriel, to which he brought a breath of fresh air from the outside world. 'He joked with Stubbs, discussed Ithaca with Monro, and was one of the few who ventured to play with Freeman.' The leading undergraduates delighted to gather round him at breakfast. 'He had a consummate power of setting them at their ease, of drawing out their opinions of men and books, of catching the drift of the undergraduate mind.'

He paid his first visit to the United States in 1870, where he formed a close friendship with Dr. Eliot, formerly President of Harvard University. Bryce has been described as *anima naturaliter Americana*. He fell in love with the United States almost at first sight. His impressions appeared in *Cornhill*. 'Politics,' he said, 'mean less, and politicians count for less, in the United States than in any European country. Their merits are less beneficial, their faults less mischievous, their whole sphere of action more restricted and less regarded, than in England.'

In 1876 Bryce made the ascent of Mount Ararat—a triumph of nerve, enterprise, and physical endurance. The thin air compelled him to stop for breath at every two steps, and he had a desperate race to reach the summit before darkness came on. He was elected to the Alpine Club in 1879. In his forty-third year he entered Parliament as one of the members for Tower Hamlets. He scarcely proved a Parliamentary success, though he always made a distinct contribution to any debate in which he took part. He was considered to be too academic and professional. He was a member for twenty-six years; was a Cabinet Minister in three administrations; and added dignity and authority to the House. Yet he never reached the Parliamentary

status expected by his friends. He held a recognized position as the friend of the Armenians, and regarded Turkish rule as hopeless. He expressed his conviction in 1880 that 'the existence of Turkey as an Empire will be limited to a very few years.' When he became member for South Aberdeen in 1885, Gladstone chose him as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Earl Rosebery. He was never an enthusiastic Home Ruler, but regarded that as the least of a choice of evils. He declined the offer of Legal Member of the Viceroy's Council of India in 1881. He could not leave his mother, and the idea of his great book on the American Commonwealth was taking shape. His second visit to the United States, in 1881, made him throw overboard half of the bold generalizations made in 1870. On his third, in 1883, he visited the various States, questioned fellow travellers on the railroads, and plied his friends with inquiries of every kind. When the *American Commonwealth* appeared in 1888, it was recognized by those best qualified to judge as an amazingly accurate picture. Theodore Roosevelt told him, 'No one can help admiring the depth of your insight into our peculiar conditions, and the absolute fairness of your criticisms.' The work is still an accepted classic in American Universities and High Schools.

He visited India in the winter of 1888. It moved him greatly. 'As for the heathenism of these parts, it is simply revolting, and I should be tempted, were I thirty years younger, to turn missionary and join in trying to rescue these people from their degrading superstitions. It is disheartening to find the English generally, and especially the civilians, sneering at mission work, and pooh-poohing native converts.' In another letter he writes, 'I wish we had some authority, which, like the Pope and a Council, could add an article to the Christian faith, for one could add total abstinence; and that would help Christianity on faster and remove the chief stumbling-block which the conduct of native Christians causes.'

In July 1889 he married Marion, second daughter of Thomas Ashton, of Hyde and Manchester, who was chief partner in a great merchant's business and in a large cotton-spinning firm. Mrs. Bryce was well versed in ancient and modern languages, and shared her husband's ideas.

She accompanied him on his many travels, and proved herself an ideal wife for such a citizen of the world.

Bryce was President of the Board of Trade in 1894, and next year, when the Liberals were defeated at the General Election, he went to South Africa. During the Boer War he made himself very unpopular. He held that grave errors of temper and judgement had been committed on both sides, and, though he felt that the war must be carried on till victory was won, he was sharply opposed to requiring unconditional surrender from the Boers. He was one of Campbell-Bannerman's most active lieutenants during the years spent in Opposition, and, when the tide turned, accepted the position of Secretary for Ireland in 1905. After thirteen months he was invited to become British Ambassador to the United States, and sailed on February 13, 1907, on what was to prove the crowning achievement of his public life.

He was already trusted and honoured in the United States, and looked on himself as an emissary of Great Britain to the American democracy. He set himself 'to charm a people.' He was felt to be 'an understanding friend, a wise man who, though a foreigner, had established his right to offer counsel, and an orator whose addresses upon many historical and educational topics were always welcomed, and generally forthcoming on demand, in quite surprising profusion.' For six years he was an American institution. President Roosevelt was an old friend, whose genuine hatred of all dishonourable things, his love of natural history, and his passion for poetry and fiction, made him very congenial to the Ambassador. The Canadian Government came to feel that

he was as keenly concerned in their affairs as in those of the United States.

Mr. Fisher questions whether 'any purely artificial city in the world is so beautiful as Washington. It rises, like a casket of stainless ivory, into skies of turquoise. Beside it flow the sparkling waters of the Potomac, which, eighteen miles above the city, dash over an intricate medley of rocks in a hundred enchanting and delicate cascades.' Its noble cluster of public buildings, and its extensive park, which retains much of the primitive savour of the wilderness, give dignity and charm to the city. The doors of the British Embassy were opened wide to all interesting men. The Ambassador would go geologizing or botanizing with the Geological Survey, and interested himself in all that might preserve the singular beauty of the capital. He showed tact and skill in diplomacy. Sir Edward Grey told him he had heard from an independent American source that the British Embassy had never been so well done, and that the Americans were delighted with him and Mrs. Bryce.

They were able in 1910 to get four months for a South American holiday, which has given us a volume of extraordinary interest on Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Brazil. One scene after another is described in a way that brings the reader face to face with the scenery and life of the continent.

Bryce returned in April 1913, having, as the British Foreign Secretary said, rendered 'tremendous public service in improving our relations with both Canada and the United States.' He was created viscount in 1914, and found the House of Lords a more congenial sphere than the House of Commons. During the Great War he presided over a small committee of historians and jurists appointed to consider the question of German atrocities. The evidence forced on him the sad conviction that the cheerful estimate of human nature which had accompanied him through life was altogether too high, and that there was still persistent in the human family the hateful appetite of the savage. He wrote in 1917

that 'five years ago nobody supposed that civilized modern human nature was capable of the series of hellish crimes which Germany has perpetrated in the conduct of the war.'

Many arresting opinions and estimates add value to the record. Roosevelt used to talk about the Kaiser in a disparaging vein, thinking him visionary, vain, and essentially not strong. Bryce was disappointed in President Wilson, who made no personal friends. He thought the critics were unjust in 1920, for the work at Paris overtaxed his physical strength and his mental resources. 'What an extraordinary career his has been! Unpopularity in Europe and abuse in America, succeeded by a sudden blaze of glory from which he has plunged into a deeper night. It is a theme for a Greek tragedy!' Bryce regarded Mommsen and Ranke as the two greatest historical figures since Niebuhr. Macaulay and Carlyle 'might have been comparable with the same diligence, but neither of them made such contributions. Of course, as *littérateurs* our men shone more brightly.' When Mommsen came to Oxford, he rose at six every morning and worked until the Bodleian was open at nine. At that hour he was waiting on the doorstep. He had not Ranke's fairness of mind and wish to see characters from every side. Bryce thought he was quite as original as Gibbon and had as great power of using materials. Gibbon won rather more credit by his style than he deserved as an historian. He did not see far below the surface, and often failed to ask the right questions.

The Bryces had a London flat—No. 3 Buckingham Gate—and a country house at Hindleap Warren, in Ashdown Forest, which they had built in 1898. Everything connected with this Sussex home was delightful to him. 'The garden, the woods, the grass and fern and heath of the forest, the sense of unbroken peace and quiet, and, above all, the contemplation of the varying aspects of nature, the play of wind and cloud and sun upon the woods and downs, the wide, air-washed spaces, and the starry vault of heaven at night, gave him unending delight.' Wherever he travelled, he was on

the look-out for some tree or fern to enrich his garden. He would go out for a breath of air before breakfast, and, after the meal, would look through his letters, light a pipe, and stroll out again. Then he settled down to write or think, or perhaps went into the forest, for he always said he could think best in the open air. A packet of oblong sheets of paper was in an inner breast pocket, ready for notes, which he jotted down as he went along. He would work nearly up to lunch-time, getting a breath of air at the last moment. Most of the afternoon he was busy, but seldom did any serious work after dinner. He sat up late, and took a final breath of night air wherever he was, at home or travelling.

His *Modern Democracies*, published in 1921, is a wonderful legacy of political wisdom. It shows him, as did his *American Commonwealth*, 'inexhaustible in toil, zealous for truth, careless of rhetorical effect, interested in minutiae, alert to the play of political forces, fair-minded and cautious, always preferring, if the choice be offered, safety to sensations, platitude to paradox.'

Philosophical speculation had no attraction for Bryce. Any tormenting doubts as to the deepest matters of faith which may have assailed him were either vanquished early or resolved in secret.

'The essential faith of his fathers, robbed, no doubt, of many of its dogmatic trappings and of the austere exclusiveness which made it incompatible with the highest point of intellectual cultivation, was enough for him.' Mr. Fisher says that when Leslie Stephen was pressing the Agnostic case with his habitual force, Bryce asked him, in tones of unaffected simplicity and earnestness, to break off the argument, because it gave him pain to hear it. He told his sister with great earnestness, 'When I read the New Testament I am always struck by its sublimity.'

He died in his sleep at Sidmouth on January 22, 1922, vigorous and full of plans for work up to the very last.

THE EDITOR.

AN IRISH LADY IN FEZ

FEZ, the most holy, after Mecca, of the towns of Islam, and for some centuries the capital of Morocco, holds one with a tremendous fascination which it is hard to explain to those who do not know it. Pierre Loti, writing of Morocco, describes it as that 'part of the earth where has come to die in slowly gathering gloom the great religious impulse given to the Arabs by Mohammed.' How he delights to use the word *Moghreb*, which signifies Morocco, and is also 'the name of that last prayer, which from one end of the Mussulman world to the other is said at the evening hour—a prayer which starts from Mecca, and, in general prostration, is propagated in a slow trail across the whole of Africa, in measure as the sun declines—to cease only in the presence of the ocean, in those last Saharan dunes where Africa itself ends.'

It was through a drizzle of rain on a depressing February afternoon that my friend and I had our first view of Fez. There it stood before us, the Mecca of Africa, a formidable, forbidding mass of walls, ramparts, and gates. Inside, a labyrinth of tortuous, winding streets, so narrow that at times it is almost possible to touch each side with one's elbows. A city of dust, decay, and mystery, deep and profound, its very inhabitants partaking of it as they glide about in their ghostly white wrappings.

One felt one was at the very heart of something savage and cruel. Major H. B. C. Pollard, writing on Fez, where he was connected with the vice-consulate, tells how 'Fifteen short years ago I saw a malefactor suffering the death of impalement. The poor wretch was lashed to a pointed stake that passed through the lower part of his body and out again below the diaphragm, and, entering again beneath the chin, projected from his mouth. He hung there bare-headed in the blazing sun. The heads of others grinned

down from spikes along the city wall. Theft and pillage were punished by the lopping off of the offender's hand, or the scarring of the hand so that the tendons were severed. The cuts were then filled with salt, green rawhide bound round the whole hand, and the man tethered with his arm immobilized. The sun and salt withered the hand, and beggars at the gate who held out withered hands for alms were but felons who had had sentence executed on them.' The Moor holds his life in such contempt that torture is the only means of punishment. And now comes the striking contrast which over and over again surprised me. In the very heart of this savage place one turns a corner and is absolutely enthralled by the sheer beauty to be found. Here in the indescribably filthy souks (native bazaars), in what is nothing more than a mud lane, stands the great Mosque El Kairouiyin. Any one who knows the mosque at Cordoba will be able to form some idea of the wonder of this, its rival. I made a special journey to Cordoba to see it—one of the greatest marvels of architecture in the world—and when I read of what it was like at the zenith of its beauty in the eighth century, it sounded like the setting for a gorgeous fairy tale. Ivory, jasper, porphyry, gold, silver, copper, and brass were used in the decorations. Marvellous mosaics and azulejos were designed. Panels of scented wood were fastened with nails of pure gold. The interior glittered with gold, silver, precious stones, mosaics, and hundreds of lamps of brass. By the side of the priest stood a mighty wax candle, and the scent of the burning aloes, ambergris, and perfumed oils in the lanterns drifted through the hundreds of arches of the long naves. The pulpit was seven years in the making; it was of ivory, ebony, sandal, aloe, and citron wood, with nails of gold and silver. In the wondrous mihrab the walls were of pure gold. A copy of the Koran in a gold case, set with pearls and rubies, was kept in a niche of the mihrab. Kairouiyin, capable of holding 20,000, is beautiful and wonderful beyond words. It has

endless colonnades, all geometrically perfect, of which the Arabs say, 'The man who should try to count the columns of Kairouiyin would go mad.' Never yet has the foot of infidel profaned it. Until quite recently great bars of wood at each end of the lane closed it off, and no Christian, Jew, or fourfooted animal was allowed near; even yet, to loiter in the vicinity is dangerous, so that all one could do was to walk slowly past one of its fifteen doors, and the impression was of a great vastness and prostrate white figures.

In an indescribable way I was satisfied with only this, for I felt I was at the very heart of a tremendous power—savage Islam keeping inviolate the mystery of one of her most sacred shrines, over whose threshold no Christian dog dare pass. Not only is Kairouiyin a mosque, but it is also a university. Here gather students from all over Africa, who 'commit to memory the principles of grammar in prose and verse, the science of the reading of the Koran, the invention, exposition, and ornaments of style, law, medicine, theology, metaphysics, and astronomy, as well as the talismanic numbers, and the art of ascertaining by calculation the influences of the angels, the spirits, and the heavenly bodies, the names of the victor and the vanquished, and of the desired object and the person who desires it.' And, having 'plucked a rose' in the great Kairouiyin, they spread away over the length and breadth of Africa—away beyond the Grand Atlas to Timbuctoo, to the black Soudan, it may be to stir up fanatical hatreds or lead in Holy Wars.

The students lodge in medersas some distance from the mosques. These medersas are very beautiful, and here one sees Moroccan art at its perfection. True, part of the building may be falling to bits with age and decay, so illustrative of the Arab who has brains to conceive and fingers to execute such perfect gems, but seems powerless to restore or care for what he has created. One is struck with this all through Fez—beauty, absolutely enthralling, hand in hand with decay, ruin, dust. As someone has said, it is the breath

of the desert one feels when looking at the exquisite designs of the arabesques—some of them like a scalloped shell, others the patterns wrought by the wind upon the sand, or like the knotted ropes of hide that bind the Arabs' tents together. Hundreds of designs, with never a living thing depicted, all minutely and perfectly carved in white plaster, have for centuries withstood the ravages of time. On the floors and forming a dado are lovely tiles of all colours, with their perfect glaze. Around the top of the walls run verses from the Koran. The ceilings—sometimes a mass of choice mosaics in blues and gold, or long beams of cedarwood carved and gilded, or dome-shaped, the entire inside a mass of carved honeycombing—show off the white walls to perfection, accentuating the impression they give of curtains of the most exquisitely fine lace. There is always an arcaded court, with its marble fountain, for the Moors dearly love the sound of running water. All this is a cool retreat from the scorching rays of an African sun. From these medersas the student, his prayer-rug under his arm, daily makes his way to the mosques, where all instruction is given, and where, in the libraries attached, there are old and priceless volumes. Moulay Idriss is a smaller and, if possible, more holy mosque, and there are numerous others.

It is difficult to try to describe the souks. They lie in the centre of Fez Elbali, for the town is divided into Fez Elbali (Old Fez) and Fez Eldjid (New Fez), with the Ould Fez running through—that foul river on whose banks have been enacted such awful scenes. The streets are so narrow that no vehicle can pass through; overhead is a trellis-work of reeds, underfoot mud; and it is in these narrow, sunless, indescribably filthy lanes that the sense of mystery deepens and closes around one. From early morning till sunset a ceaseless throng passes up and down—Berbers; Arabs; enormous negroes from the Soudan, flat-nosed and repulsive-looking; half-naked water-carriers with their skin water-bottles; narrow-chested Jews in black gaberdine

cloaks and skull-caps, always in a hurry ; fierce tribesmen from the neighbouring mountains, armed to the teeth ; rotund and prosperous merchants ; ghostly, veiled women slipping along ; Government officials ; a handful of tourists ; snake-charmers ; sorcerers muttering incantations ; the blind leading the blind, and wailing verses from the Koran ; and, ever threading their way in and out, dreadful mal-formed beggars, proud of their sores—an unceasing, never-ending stream of mixed humanity ; and what strikes one most is their supreme indifference to the Christian, who has pushed his unwanted presence amongst them. Any person who has visited the bazaars, say of Cairo, who has been lured into their clean and commodious parlours by their well-groomed, bediamonded owners, who, with the accompaniment of cigarettes, coffee, and Turkish delight, decoy the unwary into grievous pitfalls, would feel he had been carried back a thousand years if he visited the souks of Fez. Here, instead of the finished article he sees it in the making. The stalls are really only fair-sized cupboards, without doors, raised about three feet from the ground. In the centre sits the owner, cross-legged like an idol, while on each side and behind him his goods are arranged. There is the slipper-market, with its rows and rows of leather slippers in all sorts of gay colours. There is the silk-market, where one sees the whole process, from the bundles of floss to the array of gorgeous Oriental silks in lovely blues and greens and purples, some of them embroidered in silver and gold. There are lovely Rabat carpets and rugs, matting from Sale. There is the goldsmiths' quarter, with all its quaint bangles, anklets, ear-rings, and the large brooches the women wear to fasten their garments on the shoulder. Stalls full of brasswork and beaten copper, embossed or engraved by hand in choice designs. Somewhere else stacks of saddlery and gay trappings for horses. All sorts of arms, swords, daggers, guns, in some cases the scabbards of the swords and daggers elaborately adorned. The sound of an anvil

is heard, and a great negro, half-naked and perspiring, bends over it. Until the middle of the nineteenth century there was the slave-market, where human flesh was bought and sold. There is the spice-market ; near by, great masses of fowl are seen through a cloud of feathers. Then a stall full of weird sweetmeats, honey, and syrups, and, over all, the ever-pervading smell of olive-oil and humanity. All this packed in where for months at a time not a glint of sun can penetrate, and where at dusk the only lighting there is comes from mean little oil-lamps.

One could spend days wandering through these souks, always finding something fascinating, something new ; but they have also their sad aspect. They are totally lacking in Oriental warmth and colour ; there is no laughter as the women shuffle along in their white mufflings, and the men seem ever to be lost in thought, with little or no concern for the things of to-day.

Coming up from the souks there is a variety of animals to be seen—mules, the delightfully-disdainful camel, the heavily-laden donkey—with often a large open sore in the rump of the poor little beast, so that a vicious prod may hasten matters, for the Moor, invariably kind to his children, is horribly cruel to his animals—or it may be a lovely Arab horse, all aquiver, from its damp nostrils to the end of its flowing tail, while across its crimson saddle-cloth sits a superb figure in turban and long flowing white robe, rivalling the Cossack in deeds of horsemanship, seldom if ever missing a target with his horse at a mad gallop.

Each time I walked through the streets I was struck afresh with the beauty of its gateways, the perfect horse-shoe form, and its *fandaks* (inns with stabling accommodation), with their massive, beautifully-carved cedar doors, the fountains to be found everywhere, tiled in blues and greens, and the graceful minarets rising all through the town. Every few yards there was something lovely to look at, and then suddenly one forgot it all, and was struck dumb

by some horrible sight ; but, whether one's emotions were stirred to admiration or filled with fear, the Arab ever brushed past with imperturbable disdain.

Once in a while this grim place loses some of its fierceness. A strain of music casts a glamour over it ; its shadows seem to soften it ; its lovely Rabat carpets turn into magic ones ; and its white burnoused figures in gaily-coloured heelless slippers become romantic. There is the sound of softly-running water ; overhead a crescent moon ; the glamour increases ; breathless, one awaits the commencement of an *Arabian Nights* tale.

Fez has ever been one of the chief markets of Morocco ; from the shores of the Mediterranean, from the farthest confines of the Soudan, its traders come, and its merchants, astute and wealthy, do business over the greater part of Europe. To the home of one such we were invited for tea. Through an unpretentious door in a high wall we were ushered into a patio. Round its four sides was trellis-work covered with a tender green growth ; there were orange-trees and palms ; water played in a marble fountain in the centre. The room in which we were received had one entire side opening on to the patio ; the other three were a mass of low divans and soft cushions. For a Moorish woman to be extremely stout is to be beautiful. Our hostess amply fulfilled this necessary qualification. Frankly, I was amazed at her appearance. Up till then I had only seen women out of doors, veiled to the eyes. Here no niggardly hand had visited the rouge-pot ; her lips, her eyes, her eyebrows, her finger-nails, had received minute and careful attention. When one remembers that the sole male admirers these women have are their husbands, sons, and in some cases brothers, one wonders if it is all worth while ; or it may be that lack of admiration stimulates jealousy—the women mix freely together ! Our host, clear-skinned, with short curly black beard and well-shaped hands and feet, seated on the floor, presided over the tea-making. Green tea sweetened

ad nauseam, and flavoured with mint, was served in small tumblers, and handed round with an almost insolent air by a magnificent, big negress, her anklets, her bangles, and her ear-rings all ajingle. A most faithful slave in our host's old home, she had been given her freedom, which she ignored; with easy familiarity she mixed with the family. On the floor, cross-legged like a tailor, sat a blind musician, *purdah* being strictly observed in Morocco. Pinging weird music from his guitar and rolling his sightless eyes around, he improvised a song as he went along. My friend and I were brought into it, and I was most anxious that our part should be translated; I felt sure it would be deliciously full of Oriental metaphor.

Seated in a plain, with a range of mountains behind, Fez has been described as a city of walls. It has need of them all, for it stands absolutely isolated and alone, and what savage hordes have battered at its gates, to be repulsed or victorious, to sweep in, leave their mark, and in time be superseded by others, it may be, more ferocious!

Founded early in the ninth century by Moulay Idriss, who with his Arabs from Mesopotamia drove many of the Berbers to the mountains, and, intermarrying with those who remained, formed a new tribe of mixed Berber and Arab blood, it has seen dynasty succeed dynasty—Almoravids and Almohads, Merinids, Saadians, and Hassanians.

At constant warfare within its gates and without, it had, in 1908, when Abd-el-Hafid was Sultan, to ask the help of France against Abd-el-Aziz. Peace restored, Abd-el-Hafid then turned against the French, and a horrible massacre took place. Finally the French Protectorate was formed. Then, thanks to the genius of General Lyautey, thirteen years of peace and prosperity. Once more a fierce tribe waited to storm that grim old fortress, and Abd-el-Krim, with his Riffs, pushing aside the Christian, would fain have reigned in Oriental state.

Fierce, fanatical, proud, disdainful Fez, as if to try and

soften you and make you human, Nature in her different seasons pushes up between your walls some of her loveliest things, and the air is sweet with the scent of the orange blossom, and the long, languorous African nights heavy with the perfume of roses.

On my last afternoon I was standing in front of what was formerly the Grand Vizier's Palace. Some storks were perched on the old walls, and a pretty sight they made, standing on one leg, with a lemon sky for background. Far away in front was the snow of the lesser Atlas Mountains. In vivid contrast to its whiteness, the sun was sinking in a splash of crimson, untouched, untouchable, by man's hand. As if in some mysterious way recognizing this, from a neighbouring minaret there rose and fell, and died away, the call to prayer. The crimson vanished; only the cold white line remained; darkness was falling—the dropping of the curtain over a day that was finished and could never be staged again.

MAY E. FULTON.

THE ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY

THIS is the Age of Feminism. So much all allow. Yet I use the term feminism, not because I like it, but because there does not seem to be any other single word for the thing meant. To-day, as never before, women are claiming equality with men. I will not stay to discuss the term 'equality.' I will only remark that it is not a synonym for 'likeness.' When we say of two men that they are equal, we do not mean that they are altogether alike. Equality is not inconsistent with difference.

If we ask why feminism is one of the phenomena of to-day, there are many answers. Perhaps most people would reply, 'The War.' But is it not rather true that the War precipitated a downpour that had long been slowly gathering in the atmosphere? Or, to change the metaphor, the feminist movement before the War was like the rivulets in the Cotswolds, but, after it, like the Thames at Richmond Bridge. There were optimists during the years of war who believed that its end would begin the millennium. These optimists are the pessimists of to-day. Their great word is 'disillusion.' Others, more used to the reading of history, remembered during the great struggle the sequel of earlier wars, and formed less ambitious hopes. These are still optimists. They know that after Waterloo there was a period of disillusion, yet that there followed an era of real progress whose full issues are still to come. Similarly, they believed, and believe, that in the twentieth, twenty-first, and twenty-second centuries the rich and beneficent harvest of the last great war will be garnered. For myself, I make no doubt that one of the chief and best fruits in that harvest will be the emancipation of womanhood. Every civilization may be judged by the degree of liberty that it can safely

allow to woman. In the process of her emancipation to-day there are risks to run, and few observers would claim that all the changes that have come, or are coming, are beneficial, but no great change in history has been unmixed benefit. The question is, Is there progress on the whole? To-day woman is 'realizing her personality'—to use one of our cant phrases—as never before. The historians of the future will look back upon our time as a great epoch, and will point to the emancipation of womanhood as one of the marks of its greatness.

This leads to a second answer to the question, Why is feminism one of the phenomena of to-day? It is no accident, I think, that the feminist movement is manifesting itself in Christendom rather than in heathendom. In other words, I believe that Jesus is the ultimate author of the current women's movement. When He chose women to be His friends, or talked with a woman by a well, He said 'Alpha,' and His Alpha always carries an Omega. If we must use the word, I should say that our Lord Jesus Christ is the greatest of feminists, for by feminism I mean the creed that in woman, as in man, personality is greater than sex.

One of the marks of feminism is the demand that no calling in life shall be denied to women. I put the claim in this bald way because it is the usual way. I myself think that the claim needs far more carefully stating. To discuss this point, however, would carry me too far from the present subject. I should myself prefer to say that woman ought to have the opportunity of putting her capacities to the test in all callings. I should say exactly the same of man. I do not think that either man or woman should be excluded from any given calling merely on *a priori* grounds. Only experience can show whether there are callings that must remain peculiar to one sex or the other. Even where a particular calling proves through experience to belong as a rule to men or to women respectively, it is not unlikely that there will always be a few exceptions, the reason being that

none of the qualities of personality is the monopoly of either sex. Most nurses will always be women, yet there is a place for the male nurse. Most soldiers have always been men, but who would say that Joan of Arc ought not to have led the French to battle?

In an epoch when woman is knocking at all closed doors, it is inevitable that she should ask for admission to the Christian ministry. If I am correct in my account of the ultimate origin of the feminist movement, this is doubly inevitable. If Christ is the emancipator of woman, does He deny her a place in the ministry of His Church? This question was sure to be asked and urged.

There are various ways of answering it. One is by appealing to the Bible. I hope to return to this presently. Another is by appealing to the implications of Christian principle. This seems to me readily to unite with the appeal to the Bible. A third way is to appeal to history, and particularly to Christian history since New Testament times. There is here an interesting subject for exact research, but this is not the place to undertake it. Only two or three remarks can be made. In the Middle Ages abbesses were expected to preach to their nuns. Lecky says that the Order of Deaconesses lingered in the Eastern Church until the twelfth century. Owst, in his recent *Preaching in Mediaeval England*, tells us of a book by a French writer, Lecoy de la Manche, which shows that on the Continent there were instances of women's 'preaching in formal fashion in church' in mediaeval times. Owst adds that the Frenchman recounts 'picturesque episodes'—a phrase that tempts one to send to Paris for the book! He also tells us of a certain Dominican, Humbertus de Romanis by name, who gave four reasons why women ought not to preach—first, 'because they lack sufficient intelligence'; second, 'because an inferior rôle in life has been given them by God'; third, because for a woman to preach 'would provoke immorality'; fourth, because of 'the folly of the first woman,

Eve, who, as St. Bernard pointed out, by opening her mouth . . . brought ruin to the whole world.' It is curious that the Dominican does not appeal to St. Paul's famous dictum, 'I permit not a woman to teach.' He seems to have known more about the Old Testament than the New.

To come to our own day, probably there is no Church, at least among the Churches usually called Protestant or Reformed, in which the question of the admission of women to the ministry has not been agitated. Perhaps one ought to except the Congregational and Baptist Churches, for there seems to be general agreement among them that if a local church thinks it right to call a woman to be its minister, there is nothing to hinder. In other Nonconformist Churches, particularly in the Presbyterian and Methodist, there has been prolonged discussion. Again, one of the chief topics discussed by the bishops at the Lambeth Conference of 1920 was 'The Position of Women in the Councils and Ministrations of the Church.' It will serve the immediate purpose if I say something first about the Lambeth Resolutions on the subject, and the findings of the committee appointed by the bishops to consider and report upon it; and then something about the action of the Wesleyan Conference on the matter.'

The report of the committee on which the Lambeth Resolutions are based, like everything in the Lambeth Report, is a document of outstanding ability. I wish that I could give large space to it, but this is impossible. I can only name some salient points, premising that, though the whole Conference passed Resolutions in accordance with the

'The following paragraph appeared in *The Times* for May 10, 1927, from its Berlin correspondent: 'The General Synod of the Evangelical Church has accepted, after the third reading, a Bill enabling women to perform certain ecclesiastical functions with the title of "Vicaress" (*Vikarin*). . . . The vicaresses will be allowed to preach at children's services and Bible classes, and to give religious instruction. They will not, however, be allowed to preach at ordinary services or to administer the Sacrament.' Yet 'four years' study at a university is an indispensable preliminary.' Caution and thoroughness, after the typical German way!

committee's findings, it does not follow that the Conference agreed with everything that the committee said.

The committee quotes St. Paul's two famous passages enjoining silence on women, and remarks that the apostle's 'directions' were 'relative to the time and place which he actually had in mind.' Again, the committee says, 'In our judgement the ordination of a deaconess confers on her Holy Orders. In ordination she receives the "character" of a deaconess in the Church of God; and, therefore, the status of a woman ordained to the diaconate has the permanence which belongs to Holy Orders. She dedicates herself to a lifelong service.' The committee then goes on to the problem of the marriage of deaconesses, and says, 'We do not think that deaconesses should be precluded from marrying. . . . A married deaconess might, especially during the earlier years of her married life, be compelled to ask the bishop to allow her to suspend the actual exercise of some, if not all, of her functions. But she would retain the status of a deaconess, and, after an interval, would in most cases be able to resume her active work.'

The principal Resolutions passed by the whole Conference, on the basis of the committee's report, are as follows :

'The time has come when, in the interests of the Church at large and, in particular, of the development of the ministry of women, the diaconate of women should be restored formally and canonically, and should be recognized throughout the Anglican Communion.'

'The Order of Deaconesses is for women the one and only order of the ministry which has the stamp of apostolic approval, and is for women the only order of the ministry which we can recommend that our branch of the Catholic Church should recognize and use.'

'The office of a deaconess is primarily a ministry of succour, bodily and spiritual, especially to women, and should follow the lines of the primitive rather than of the modern diaconate of men. It should be understood that the

deaconess dedicates herself to a lifelong service, but that no vow or implied promise of celibacy should be required as necessary for admission to the order. Nevertheless, deaconesses who desire to do so may legitimately pledge themselves, either as members of a community, or as individuals, to a celibate life.'

'In every branch of the Anglican Communion there should be adopted a form and manner of making of deaconesses such as might fitly find a place in the Book of Common Prayer, containing, in all cases, provision for: (a) Prayer by the bishop and the laying on of his hands; (b) A formula giving authority to exercise the office of a deaconess in the Church of God; (c) The delivery of the New Testament by the bishop to each candidate.'

'The following functions may be entrusted to the deaconess, in addition to the ordinary duties which would naturally fall to her: (a) To prepare candidates for baptism and confirmation; (b) To assist at the administration of holy baptism; and to be the ministrant in cases of necessity in virtue of her office; (c) To pray with, and to give counsel to, such women as desire help in difficulties and perplexities; (d) With the approval of the bishop and of the parish priest, and under such conditions as shall from time to time be laid down by the bishop: (i.) in church to read Morning and Evening Prayer and the Litany, except such portions as are assigned to the priest only; (ii.) in church also to lead in prayer and, under the licence of the bishop, to instruct and exhort the congregation. [Note.—Clause d (ii.) was carried by 117 votes to 81.]'

It will be obvious that these Resolutions are far reaching and novel. It is true that the last term can only be used in a relative sense, for the bishops speak of the restoration, not of the institution, of the Order of Deaconesses. In other words, they claim to be returning to apostolic use. But, if we confine ourselves to recent centuries, it is clear that the Anglican Church has here committed itself to a

new thing. In accordance with these Resolutions, it is proposed that the new Prayer Book shall contain a form for the Ordering of Deaconesses. | This form appears in the Appendix, at the end of the 'Book Proposed to be Annexed to the Prayer Book Measure,' as having been 'adopted by the Upper Houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York,' and, as it is not marked with a side-line, it seems to follow that it is not quite a new form. It follows, in the main, the form for the Ordering of Deacons, though there is a not inconsiderable number of divergences. Most of these follow from the fact that it is a form for women and not men. For instance, the passages selected to be read from the Gospel are passages that refer to the women friends of our Lord. One difference, however, seems curious, at least to an unaided Nonconformist mind—while deacons are asked whether they 'unfeignedly believe all the Canonical Scriptures,' it is inquired of deaconesses whether they 'believe the Christian faith as set forth in the Nicene Creed and in the Apostles' Creed.' What an engaging theme one could make of it—'The Bible for men, the Creeds for women'!

I do not know how far the form for the Ordering of Deaconesses has been used, nor how many deaconesses there are in the Anglican Church throughout the world. No doubt so great an innovation will take time to spread, and no doubt the need and opportunity for the work of deaconesses will be greater in some places than in others. It is now necessary to turn to a certain limitation in the functions of a deaconess. Like a deacon, she may preach; like a deacon, she may baptize in the absence of a priest; also like a deacon, she may not administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Unlike a deacon, she cannot hope ever to become a priest and so receive authority to administer the Eucharist. It follows, of course, that she can never be more than an assistant in a parish. The question naturally arises, 'Is this disability meant to be permanent? Or is it intended to admit women

into the Anglican priesthood by two stages, the first stage being deemed sufficient for the present?' Both the Resolutions of the Conference and the report of the committee give a clear answer. To quote again one of the Resolutions: 'The Order of Deaconesses is for women the one and only order of the ministry which has the stamp of apostolic approval, and is for women the only order of the ministry which we can recommend that our branch of the Catholic Church should recognize and use.'

There are, of course, certain presuppositions here. It is taken for granted that in the apostolic Church a deaconess held a similar office to that committed to her in the prescribed form. Probably all would admit that there is a general likeness. It is also presupposed that in the apostolic Church neither deacons nor deaconesses administered the Eucharist. There is no reason why the bishops should not take this for granted in a document meant for the Anglican Church, since that Church has long held a theory of orders that involves such a doctrine, but the postulate is, of course, open to debate. Again, it is taken for granted that on this subject apostolic precedent is always to be followed. Why? In allowing women to preach, the bishops have departed from one apostolic precedent; why should they feel bound by another? It could not be expected that their Resolutions should answer this question, nor, perhaps, even that their committee should do so in its report. But it would be an advantage to all Churches if their leaders thought out clearly the answer to the question, 'When is apostolic precedent binding, and when is it not binding?' I do not suppose that any Church pretends to follow every apostolic precedent. The question, therefore, remains, 'Even if it should prove true that in the apostolic Churches no woman ever administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, does it follow that she is never to do so?'

To turn to the problem as it has presented itself in the Wesleyan Methodist Church—some preliminary remarks

ought perhaps to be made. There is, of course, in that Church a great army of lay preachers, called, for historical reasons, local preachers. In the year 1918 the Conference, the supreme authority among Methodists, declared that women were eligible to serve as local preachers in exactly the same way as men. Again, for a generation there has been in the Methodist Church an Order of Deaconesses, though probably the Methodist would not define the term 'order' in quite the same way as an Anglican. These 'Wesley deaconesses,' have served as a kind of assistant pastor in many churches. Further, in the Methodist Church the ministry is not divided into three orders—using the word now in the Anglican sense—though every minister serves a term of probation that in some ways corresponds to the diaconate. Lastly, the administration of the sacraments is reserved for ministers, yet not on any theory of apostolical succession, but to secure the decent and reverent observance of these sacred rites.

The question of the admission of women to the ministry was raised in 1923 in a very practical way. A woman presented herself as a candidate for the ministry. The Conference appointed a committee to consider the problems involved, and that committee was reappointed year by year until 1926. In that year, for the first time in our history, the two Sessions of Conference passed irreconcilable resolutions. The session that consists of an equal number of ministers and laity adopted a certain scheme for admitting women to the ministry; the session that consists of ministers only rejected the scheme. The respective resolutions will be reported to the two sessions this year, and it remains to be seen what the upshot will be.

The difficulties in Methodism, however, are all of a practical kind. At any early meeting of the committee there were indeed a few who wished to admit women to all the functions of the ministry except the administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but they failed to carry the committee,

and the Conference has never contemplated this kind of action. On the contrary, it has more than once declared its conviction that 'a woman is not disqualified for the ordained ministry merely on the ground of sex.' As I have already stated, there is only one 'order' of ministers in Methodism, and all in that 'order' administer both sacraments. The chief of the practical difficulties that have provoked so long a discussion, centres in marriage. In the Methodist Church the ministers itinerate, every minister going where the Conference appoints him. It would plainly be difficult to apply this rule to married women. On the other hand, the Conference hesitates to make a rule that for women ministers marriage shall involve resignation, for it is the conviction of Methodists that the call to the ministry is lifelong. Another suggestion is that a married woman might retain the status of a minister without being appointed to work in a given circuit. *Mutatis mutandis*, this would be to follow the Lambeth precedent. The Conference, however, is shy of recognizing even a small group of ministers who do not carry out a minister's duties. These practical difficulties need not be further elucidated.

At one stage in the discussion in the Pastoral Session of Conference a demand was made for a statement to show the bearing of New Testament teaching upon the subject. Such a statement was drawn up in the committee, but it has not received the sanction of Conference, for the Pastoral Session, as already seen, rejected the committee's report on practical grounds. But it was accepted without demur by the whole committee. Like the Lambeth Resolutions, it has its own presuppositions, being drawn for a given Church. The major part of it may be quoted :

'In considering the relation of the New Testament to many of the problems that press for solution in later times, it is important to remember the distinction between what may be called "apostolic principle" and "apostolic precedent." There are familiar instances in St. Paul's treatment

of the State and slavery. . . . It is now generally allowed that Christian *principle* requires the abolition of slavery, yet St. Paul gave instructions to 'masters' and 'bond-servants' which implied its continuance in his day, for the time had not yet come when Christianity was strong enough to destroy it. The apostle's instructions, therefore, form a valuable *precedent* to guide Christians who have to live under a system whose evils they are unable to abolish, but they do not imply that slavery is a Christian institution. Circumstances may so change that apostolic *precedent* ought no longer to be literally followed ; but it is the duty of Christians in every age to strive to induce men to apply apostolic *principle* to the whole of human life.

'A third instance of this distinction appears when the references in the New Testament to the ministry of women are examined. On the one side there stand St. Paul's sayings, "Let the women keep silence in the churches" (1 Cor. xiv. 34); "I permit not a woman to teach," (1 Tim. ii. 12), and, on the other, the great text, "There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female ; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. iii. 28). The former texts imply that there are conditions of society in which the public ministry of women would do more harm than good. This is so everywhere so long as the public estimation of womanhood emphasizes sex rather than personality. Probably it would be a mistake to admit women to the ministry in some mission fields to-day, just as it was in Corinth or Ephesus in Paul's day. It does not follow, however, that Christian principle requires that women should never "teach" or preach. Otherwise our Church would have already erred in appointing women to be class-leaders, Sunday-school teachers, and local preachers. Again, there are texts in the Bible itself that seem to admit exceptions to the Pauline rule (e.g. Judges iv. 4 ; Acts xviii. 20, xxi. 9). To-day women are being admitted into most of the callings hitherto reserved for men. This is possible

without scandal, because in public estimation personality in woman begins at last to take precedence of sex. This welcome change is ultimately due to the influence of the Christian principle of the value of personality, alike in men and women. . . . To use an old biblical phrase, there is no "respect of persons" with God. . . . An age in which, under the impulse of Christian principle, women are being admitted to many other callings, is surely one in which they may fitly be admitted to the highest and most spiritual of all. There is nothing in the New Testament that requires the permanent exclusion of half the human race from the Christian ministry. On the other hand, there is good biblical warrant for the repeated declaration of the Conference, "In principle a woman is not disqualified for the Christian ministry merely on the ground of sex (*Minutes*, 1925, p. 276)."

It will be seen, therefore, that for some Churches, such as the Anglican, there is no way but to say to women, 'Thus far, but no farther.' Their principles require that they should shut out women from some of the functions of the Christian ministry. It is possible, of course, that they may some day find out that they have made a mistake, and that there is no reason in Christian doctrine for the refusal of the priesthood, to use their own phrase, to women. On the other hand, there are Churches, such as the Methodist, whose principles admit no such reason, and whose difficulties are altogether practical. With them the hindrances belong to the realm of organization, not of doctrine. For these Churches, the question presses, 'In this day of the emancipation of womanhood, is principle to yield to organization, or is organization to be changed to satisfy principle?' For those who believe that the Holy Spirit may call a woman to the Christian ministry there can only be one answer. A way of admission must be found.

C. RYDER SMITH.

THE SPIRITUAL GENIUS OF WILLIAM BLAKE

WILLIAM BLAKE, the centenary of whose death occurs in August, was born in 1757, a year in which, according to Swedenborg, was to be seen the inception of a new era in human society. Understanding the inner spring of his own intellectual life, Blake may be forgiven if he came to regard himself as its prophet. For the characteristic of this epoch of human progress was the rule of the free imagination, and Blake's significant work rests almost entirely upon his unrestrained visionary power. Historic events and a group of revolutionary ideas were woven with fantastic images and symbols into strange and prolix dramas more and more alien to the ordinary world of reason and sense. On the other hand, he possesses a vivid and intense susceptibility to impressions, and reveals to us the rare quality of genius in its apprehension of the eternally fresh and original amidst the familiar aspects of the world. His eager, mystical spirit takes each common sensation of light and sound and relates it to his inner consciousness, and so creates out of the twain a new thing. To understand him, we must see as he sees, and re-create for ourselves the world of ideas in which he dwelt. Nor must we be led into the error of supposing that his allusions spring from literary sources. At best they receive their inspiration in common, simple things, seen with the *naïveté* of a little child and transmuted by the power of his intense sensibility into haunting images of the mind. He was a Romantic in the positive sense that Professor Herford has described; 'its peculiar quality lies in this—that in apparently detaching us from the real world it seems to restore us to reality at a higher point, to emancipate us from the "prison of the actual" by giving us spiritual rights in a universe of mind.' Not that his Romanticism leads him to be the slave of any

naturalistic temper, nor does his poetry, despite the daring phrases of the prophetic books, reveal anything of sensuousness in its play of imagery. Yet his mind is dual, and amidst his inventive fancies there is an expression of tense realism. He is often distraught with vast and vaguely deciphered ideas, yet nevertheless seeks for anchorage upon a world of actual experience :

Cruelty has a human heart,
And Jealousy a human face ;
Terror the human form divine,
And Secrecy the human dress.

Or its gentler counterpart :

For Mercy has a human heart,
Pity, a human face ;
And Love, the human form divine,
And Peace, the human dress.

Still this commoner clay of experience is infiltrated with profound and unpremeditated visions. When but a child, he saw God put His forehead to the window, and later he sees Ezekiel sitting under a green tree—a youthful audacity which failed to secure the parental commendation. No ordinary travel stories could impress one who walks amidst the fires of hell and on occasion lunches with Isaiah and Ezekiel. Dulwich Common is the scene of his transforming genius, and he discovers a tree in its midst filled with bright angels, their glittering wings bespangling the boughs like stars.

This was no transitory phase, but was to become his habitual manner. Always his best work will be done through visionary inspiration, and visible forms are to be but the alphabet of his thought. He must perforce dwell in the cave, but he will not be deluded by the shadows. The world of imagination is the real world, and the sphere of visible and opaque things the world of illusion. His poetry, illustrations, and prophetic books are one long commentary upon

the Pauline 'things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.' This insistence upon insight is the common heritage of all creative artists, but there are few who do not for long intervals lose the sense of it, and seek to mask their spiritual poverty by labour or technical excellence. Hence his bitter quarrel with the artistic conventions of his contemporaries, which was aroused by their depreciation of the intuitive sources of the artist's achievement.

Mr. Osbert Burdett has criticized him for identifying 'inspiration with art.' But the confusion is not in Blake's mind, but in Mr. Burdett's. Art must begin in something outside itself, and must carry the mind on to a new point of vantage. Its primary activity is concerned with that inchoate sphere in which knowledge comes to us through unbidden and unrelated images, upon which the logical processes of the intellect can work. It is intuitive in its unsophisticated acceptance of things in their primitive simplicity, and gives expression to what is within in terms which can be apprehended from without. What is offered subsequently to the beholder, the beautiful form or physical entity through which the aesthetic perception is expressed, is the result of other processes and ingredients, such as order, arrangement, symmetry, balance, harmony, &c. They may—or, as so often happens, may not—enhance the value of the original quality of mind which called them into being. But, however excellent the subsequent activities of the poet or artist, the one thing that gives intrinsic value to his work is this primary imaginative or intuitive activity. What Blake called his 'inspiration' Cezanne, a century later, called his 'little sensation,' and insisted upon it as the thing of supreme value in his painting. The artist who emphasizes the unique value of this faculty in his work will doubtless 'exaggerate idiosyncrasy and claim finality for ideas that have no more than peculiarity to recommend them,' but it is the function of the critical judgement to

elucidate and appraise. The artist is seldom a judge of the ultimate value of his own work, and will not infrequently prefer his inferior achievements. He is a propagandist, determined on enforcing the convictions which have given meaning and value to his achievements. That Blake was tempted to regard himself as a revolutionary prophet rather than as a lyrical poet is not more surprising than that Milton should have resented the suggestion that 'Paradise Regained' was not the equal of 'Paradise Lost.'

It is the genius of Blake that he recognized quite explicitly the real place and function of the imagination in art. For the imagination apprehends the varied life of the world with a strange and wondering gaze, so that the original images, which are childlike in their simplicity, recover their freshness amidst the rational discriminations of the intellect, and reveal to us the primitive poetic character of our minds. The realm of art is deeper than thought, and its remoter regions must either be the subject of the mind's contemplative exercise or else left for ever unexplored. In such secret apprehension we may haply discern the soul of our life ere time has chiselled out the visible form, and see God's shuttle weaving the world, so that the wisdom of sages and the words of the philosophers are but the babblings of old and weary men who have passed into the confusions of temporal things. In this realm, where the vision can scarcely find the adequate symbol to communicate the fleeting and impalpable images that have companioned the mind in its long withdrawals from the dusty ways of consciousness, Blake was a constant dweller. He knew the secret stairway of his life upon which pass a thousand intimacies of our soul's company, to enter into the spacious and dimly-lit rooms of our spirit. They bring us news of far yesterdays and distant to-morrows, so that we come almost to doubt if we are the denizens of time or have already inhabited eternity. He sought to be the instrument which not only touches nature on the one side and spirit on the other, but

is able to enter into nature and display to us the mystical reality within its external form. Unless we possess this mystical power of insight, nature will always remain an illusion. To Blake there was always present the distinction between the rational image to which reflection and experience had contributed and the naïve image, or series of images, which are the incentive of the artist. 'What, when the sun rises do you not see a round disk of fire somewhat like a guinea? Oh, no, no. I see an innumerable company of the heavenly host crying "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God Almighty."' This expressed his distrust of mere sense perception. What is seen only with the senses is not seen at all truly. 'Mental things are alone real; what is called corporeal nobody knows of: its dwelling-place is a fallacy, its existence imposture.' Yet he does not think of any impassable gulf between soul and body. He sees that the spirits and souls of men take shape amidst the dark shadows, and interpenetrate the dull earth of our visible existence. They are bound together; 'Man has no body distinct from his soul; for that called body is a portion of soul discerned by the five senses, the chief inlets of soul in this age.' 'All things exist in the human imagination,' or, as he sings in 'Jerusalem':

All are human, and when you enter into their bosoms you walk
In Heavens and Earths, as in your own bosom you bear your Heaven
And Earth; and all you behold, though it appears without, it is
within
In your imagination, of which this world of mortality is but a shadow.

Despite the swift and vivid nature of his genius, Blake never loses the sense that this realm of the imagination exists in itself as the perdurable world of reality. Unchanged and secure amidst the fluxions and evanescent phases of experience, it knows no deciduous habit of autumn, and is adamant to the alembic of changing environment through which the pilgrim of the mind passes. 'This world of imagination is the world of eternity.' 'There exists in

that eternal world the Permanent Realities of Everything which we see reflected in this vegetable glass of nature.' Nor was the world of imagination in which he dwelt some chilly universe of abstract thought. Rather is it a universe filled with swift and living ideas, breaking out here and there in quick lights of fire, like the flashings of jewels in some strange cave of Eastern fantasy, revealing in unbetokened fashion the unbounded wealth that awaits our adventure. But, amidst all the spontaneity and movement, he does not conceive the world of experience 'as a perennial stream of forms flowing in no definite direction, a shoreless river whose source and mouth are alike unknown.' He recognizes that it is only the eternally permanent which can change, and would feel, with Heraclitus, that, though all things are in flux, yet in all their flowings we may recognize form and meaning. 'In eternity one thing never changes into another thing,' but, on the other hand, 'Eternity is in love with the productions of Time.'

It is probable that Blake was somewhat acquainted with current philosophical ideas, yet one doubts if he held the idea of a 'simple subjective idealism,' as Professors Schloss and Wallis suggest in their monumental edition of the prophetic writings. Rather he displays more affinity with the Neo-Platonists, and especially with Plotinus. 'If we wish to maintain the possibility of knowledge and truth and the reality of existence, and knowledge of what each thing is, instead of confining ourselves to the simple notion of its qualities which only gives us an image of the object, and forbids us to possess it, to unite ourselves with it and become one with it, we must allow to true spirit the possession of everything. So only can it know, and know truly, and never forget or wander in search, and the truth will be in it.' Or, again, 'Spirit in beholding reality beheld itself, and in beholding entered into its proper activity, and this activity is itself.' This, in essence, is the doctrine of Blake. For him the visionary mode of supersensual perception leads man to

identify himself with the eternal world. To know is to recognize oneself in the universe, and thus the instrument of perception and the thing perceived are one. 'To the eyes of imagination, nature is imagination itself'; but 'To the eyes of a miser a Guinea is more beautiful than the Sun, and a bag worn with the use of money has more beautiful proportions than a Vine filled with Grapes. The tree which moves some to tears of Joy, is in the eyes of others only a Green thing which stands in the way.'

For Blake this sense was sufficient, and it is the key to his intellectual arrogance. Intuitions cannot be argued about; they must remain right or wrong, true or false, and the intensity of their emotional perception will be to their recipient more often than not the criterion of their value. This was true of Blake. He saw what others were blind to, and he had no doubts of his own superiority. 'He who does not know truth at sight is unworthy of her notice.' 'The strong man acts from conscious superiority, and marches on in fearless dependence on the divine decrees, raging with the inspiration of a prophet's mind.' 'The knowledge of ideal beauty is not to be acquired; it is born within us.' He writes to Hayley of the experience that had come to him after visiting the Truchsessian Gallery, when he was 'again enlightened with the light I enjoyed in my youth.' He is drunk with intellectual vision, and feels a new power born within him as he takes a pencil or graver in his hand, and such an influx of emotional power must be left to do its own work. It will produce a great deal of work that, speaking from the point of view of pure artistic achievement, will be valueless, work which results from confusing the lumber-room of the mind with the Gates of Paradise. But, on the other hand, it will produce work that in creative strength and originality will be unsurpassed, and work which has established its right to a place of judgement within the circle of inviolable perfections. When there is an impassioned fusion of hand and spirit, our artistic achievements remain

undated because they are immortal. No labour can add to their value, no ease can impair their worth. Blake was conscious of this when he wrote, 'Improvement makes straight roads, but the crooked roads without improvement are the roads of genius.' It inspires the extreme dictum, 'Jesus was all virtue, and acted from impulse, not rules.'

The task for criticism is not to complain that Blake was what he was, and that much of his work is sterile reiteration of commonplace ideas and unintelligible symbols, but to recognize the moments in which his creative spirit did arrogate to itself the Promethean fire, and with rare and virginal ecstasy translate for us the language of the gods. He might, as Mr. Burdett desires, have studied classic art instead of the Gothic, and the result would probably have been to add yet one more to the list of insipid imitators who do not betray us into a momentary negligence of time by even making us glance at their work. Blake understood his own genius, and he understood the emotional quality of Gothic art, and consequently he preferred Westminster Abbey to such classic sculptures as made his acquaintance. To the one there was an immediate and intuitive response; for the other a complete lack of sympathy.

It is from this reliance upon his inner consciousness that Blake's rather startling modernity arises. It is perhaps the least arresting thing to the student, as it is the most surprising to the casual reader. Not that he is modern in the episodic sense of our ultra-intellectuals, which mainly expresses itself in a denial of the mind's paternity. He is modern precisely as he is archaic, and his affinities are equally with the sixteenth as with the twentieth centuries. Yet his modernity is rather more apparent to-day, because the artistic conventions against which this age revolts were the subject of his not too gracefully expressed protests. He anticipated by half a century the outcry against the 'dull continent of mud' that characterizes the Venetians, and in his insistent emphasis upon line and form one might almost

be a student in the studio of Picasso or listening to Maurice Raynal. The well-known passage—'The great and golden rule of Art as well as of life is this: That the more distinct, sharp, and wiry the bounding line, the more perfect the work of art; and the less keen and sharp, the greater is the evidence of weak imitation, plagiarism, and bungling. . . . The want of this determinate and bounding form evidences the want of idea in the artist's mind, and the pretence of the plagiarism in all its branches . . . leave out this line . . . and you leave out life itself'—has become a commonplace of the schools. His criticism of contemporary engravers has proved itself as remarkable for its insight as for the vigour of its language, and his unceasing rebellion against the mechanical labour which was regarded as the hall-mark of excellence in late eighteenth-century art, had it been listened to, might easily have saved us from much of the dreary ineptitude of the succeeding years. His criticism was vigorous, but it was merited, though it took us nearly a century to discover the folly of seeking to substitute cunning labour and sleight of hand for the true vocation of the artist.

Still, his quixotic assault on the serried ranks of 'journey-men bunglers' is but one aspect of his modernity. He anticipates William James and the Pragmatists in his conviction of the reality and power of beliefs. 'Does a firm persuasion that a thing is so make it so?' suggests that he would agree with Professor Dewey that sheer unmitigated personal belief can modify and shape the reality of things. His distrust of the intellect, and his conviction that 'in mere rationality there is no room for truth, though it be the instrument that masters the things of the world,' seems to have been an improvised anticipation of Bergson. He is a mystic before the cult of the esoteric had become the fashion. In a world governed by barren deistic ideas, he anticipates the revolt of the next century, and the truth which is flashed out in 'Jerusalem'—'Poetry fettered, fettered the human

race. Nations are destroyed or flourish as their poetry, painting, and music are destroyed or flourish. The primaeval state of man was wisdom, art, and science'—crystallizes the modern discussion between the apologists of an economic as against a cultural civilization. Nor is he less modern in his poetry than in his prophetic writings. The 'Songs of Innocence' recalled the splendid simplicity of the Elizabethans, and revealed a mine of thought which has been well quarried since. But 'The Little Black Boy' belongs to the nineteenth century, whilst in 'The Sick Rose' or 'The Garden of Love' we catch a glimpse of those strange, exotic flowers which later were to blossom with all their sinister fragrance in the pages of Baudelaire and Leconte de Liste.

This is not the place to attempt to outline Blake's symbolism. He sought to create new forms of expression through which to express the profound intuitions of his mind, and for his interpreters the main difficulty lies in the fact that such symbolic forms do not always represent the same conception. The result was that he failed in his main purpose, as even the most sympathetic critic must acknowledge. But when we ask wherein he failed, the answer is simple, and it is inevitable. He failed in the precise vocation to which he consecrated his strength—that of the artist. He can see, but he cannot depict. He can imagine, but he cannot narrate. We feel constantly that he is familiar with the language of the angels, but we listen in vain through long intervals for the winged notes of his spirit which shall translate that music to our coarser ears. The very quality of mind which has ensured his claim to immortality proved his undoing. Seeing so intensely and so clearly himself, he fails to realize how little of that meaning has shone through the obscurities and conflicting symbols of his later prophecies. He is often incoherent to the reader, because he was so vividly intelligible to himself. He does not understand that the primary function of the artist is to control and simplify

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the forms that are presented to his mind. The emphasis upon the bounding line as an essential of art is often curiously absent in his own work; and the 'want of this determinate and bounding form' is precisely what one has to complain of in the prophetic books, with their obscure exuberance of symbols. His mind darts hither and thither in pursuit of every mental suggestion which the fleeting inspiration invoked. When there are close limits set about his creative activity, as in the 'Songs of Innocence' or the 'Illustrations to the Book of Job,' his lyrical and pictorial genius expresses itself perfectly. Where the literary medium is as brief in form as the visionary inspiration is in time—as in the 'Aphorism,' for instance—then Blake is unsurpassed. Lay a restraint upon him, and you will discover his genius, reminding one of certain plants which only yield their most perfect flowers when grown upon a harsh and barren soil. Otherwise he seems unable to control his imaginative power. Nor could he forget. The early visions which had once inhabited his mind were preserved with meticulous care. He must for ever strive to express whatever murmurs of the spirit he had heard, or flashes of light that had come to him unbidden. If he could have been content, with Dante, to have known the unutterable secrecy of the soul at its supreme moment of insight :

*Il mio veder fu maggio
Che il parlar nostro,*

his work would have had incomparably greater value.

In truth, he was a miser. For there is a miserliness of the mind which cannot discard or fling away with rapture what is no longer serviceable. It will go on hoarding the old rags and tatters of its brooding nights, and seek to utilize them in the new and lustrous garments with which the imagination clothes our thoughts. If we cannot sew the new cloth into the old garment, much less can we patch the new with the old. But with Blake the old symbol is made to appear in the

new vision, or the old idea under a new image, and one feels that the chariot of Pegasus has halted. Amidst all the opulence of his mind there is this niggardliness of spirit, which refused to eliminate the stale and time-worn epithets and figures of speech. Too often he uses the dust-bin of the mind, not as a receptacle for useless rubbish, but as a place of hidden treasure.

The remedy could not lie, as his latest biographer suggests, in a more liberal education, a larger acquaintance with society, or increased opportunities for travel. What Blake needed was not greater intellectual stimulus, but more intellectual repose. He possessed the mystics' temperament, but not their profound discipline of spirit. He had rightly condemned a life that was carried on the turbulent waters of desire, or roused into activity by the beckoning finger of sensation. He reached the battle-ground of the spirit, and set free within himself new and strange sources of power. But he never arrived at the goal of the mystic journey, where the King in His Beauty is beholden. There we rest in a luminous realm where all things are seen in the depths of the timeless, yet with a transparency of thought that leaves no bewilderment to the beholder. The mind breathes an atmosphere of translucent calm, and the tyranny of the soul's conflict is ended, and the fervid expectation of the creature is hushed. In that divine hour we sink into the bosom of Infinite Love, and know the divine stillness of eternal things. Blake set forth on this mystic quest, but he failed to arrive at the end of the journey, and the failure was more apparent as life went on. He strives, he fights, he rebels, he lives heroically, but he misses the divinest vision, because it is neither in the fire, nor in the whirlwind, but in the hearing of the still small voice that the last paradox of life is resolved, and the One and the Many, the Lover and the Beloved, are one.

ARTHUR B. BATEMAN.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY

A QUESTIONNAIRE on religious belief was recently circulated among its readers by a leading London journal. When the results were summarized, some suggestive facts emerged, and this among others. A considerable number of those who accepted the Apostles' Creed did so with reservations and doubts as to the Resurrection of the Body. This is not altogether surprising, for there have been numerous articles and letters in the religious Press in late years which indicate that many people in the Church regard this particular belief as no longer tenable. Some years ago Dr. Clifford, the veteran Baptist, actually objected to the teaching of the Apostles' Creed in schools on the ground (along with other reasons) that most Christian people no longer believe in the Resurrection of the Body.

Now it scarcely needs to be said that honesty ought always to come first in confessional matters, and that if we no longer believe in this particular doctrine we ought to delete the article from our version of the Creed. And it is equally obvious that if any facts have been discovered that make this belief impossible or absurd, we ought at once to recognize the situation. But it does not appear, upon an examination of the question, that there is any difficulty except that which arises from a defective and materialistic interpretation of the doctrine. It is a matter for surprise that some responsible teachers of the Church have taken such a gross view of the matter, and have failed so completely to understand the subtle and vital truth that is really involved.

The article in the Creed really derives from three sources—the doctrine of the resurrection as developed in the later days of Judaism; the resurrection of the Lord Jesus Christ; and the Apostle Paul's doctrine of the spiritual body.

1. In the earlier period of Hebrew religion there was

scarcely any thought about a future life, at least in any such sense as we attach to it. The religious interest centred in the people of God as a nation, rather than in the individual. The conception of the Day of the Lord, and the whole of the Messianic hope are, of course, eschatological in character, but the thought is concerned with the Kingdom of God on earth, rather than with the fate of the individual or with a life beyond death. As far as the individual was concerned, the righteous man fulfilled his destiny in this world—he had health and length of days ; he had many sons and daughters to perpetuate his name ; his flocks and herds increased ; all went well with him, and when he died his memory was blessed. And so with the unrighteous man—he was afflicted, and he died in the midst of his years ; he was childless, or his children died before him ; he came to poverty and shame, and his memory perished. Such, in the broadest outline, was the early view. But the facts of life did not always correspond with it, and a problem emerged. Sometimes the wicked man prospered greatly, while the good man was sorely afflicted. That, of course, is the issue dramatically set forth in the book of Job. But that was not the main factor in developing a doctrine of the future life. It was rather a deepening sense of the reality of religious experience, along with an increasing emphasis upon the value and responsibility of the individual. There was the deep intuition in the minds of religious men that, since the righteousness of God is eternal, there cannot be a final separation between the righteous man and the righteous God ; the fellowship with God which godly men have in this world must remain unbroken in death. When the Captivity came, and national life existed no longer, the religious unit became more and more the individual, and the more personal hope was accentuated. ‘ But God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol, for He shall receive me.’ So the belief grew that the *dénouement* of life is not here, but beyond the grave. At first it took the form of a belief in the reanimation or

resurrection of the dead. This appears first of all in a definite and decided way in Dan. xii. 2: 'And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.' The belief was strengthened in later days when many Jews died for the sake of their faith. It may be taken to be thoroughly established in the last century before Christ. That belief in a resurrection of the dead was accepted and affirmed by the Lord Jesus Christ.

2. Then there is the supreme fact of our Lord's bodily resurrection from the dead. Taking the evangelical record as it stands—passing over critical questions that would fill a volume, and assuming for the moment that we have in the Gospels a record of fact—it seems plain that the body which rose from the dead was the same body that died, and yet that it was strangely different. It was the same—the disciples recognized the Lord, though apparently with some hesitation at first, on some occasions; the body bore the marks of the wounds in the hands and the side; it was the body that died on the cross and lay in the tomb. Yet it was different—it could appear and disappear; it could pass through closed doors. It seems manifest (if we believe that the Resurrection happened at all) that the risen body of the Lord was on

. . . the dizzy verge, the dazzling line,
Where mortal and immortal merge,
And human dies divine.

It would appear (if it may be said with all reverence) that it was a material body in the very process of being dematerialized; risen, but not yet glorified; with some material properties not yet wholly lost, and a spiritual character not yet fully acquired. That spiritualization, we may reverently suppose, became complete at the Ascension.

3. Then, developed from what has gone before, there is the Apostle Paul's doctrine (in 1 Cor. xv. 35-58) of a spiritual

body. The essential points in it seem to be these—as there is a natural body (σῶμα ψυχικόν), so there is a spiritual body (σῶμα πνευματικόν), and these are related, as the seed is related to the plant; yet they are absolutely different—as different as the small, brown, oval seed is in appearance from the long, green, erect stalk. The natural body is earthy, corrupt, dishonoured; the spiritual body is heavenly, incorruptible, glorious. If the one is a ‘muddy vesture of decay,’ the other is an indescribable investiture of the soul with purity and immortality.

Now, to assume, in the face of this teaching of St. Paul, that the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body means the mere reanimation of this material body (a thing, in any case, manifestly impossible) is sheer perversity. In the best thought of the Church it never meant that. Doubtless it would be easy enough to quote crude expressions along that line from some mediaeval writers and some modern literalists. It would be easy also to quote such language from some of the Latin Fathers, most of all from Tertullian, though Tertullian stands quite apart in such a matter as this. The curious realism which characterizes him, even to the extent of teaching that there is a subtle corporeity in God, is a thing by itself. Still, even Augustine uses language which suggests a mere reanimation of the material body. It is not to be denied that there was a materialistic as well as a spiritual interpretation of this doctrine. But why should any truth in religion be discarded because it has sometimes been expressed in a wretchedly materialistic and mechanical way? The very statement of the apostle that flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God has condemned any such gross misunderstanding from the first. And always the higher tradition of Christian theology has held to the more spiritual interpretation of the truth. No one need suspect that this is a modern attempt to evade a difficulty. Origen, the greatest of the Greek Fathers, was born about the year 185: his great-grandparents may

easily have lived in the days of the apostles. He scoffs at Celsus, his heathen opponent, for supposing that any intelligent Christian believed in the reanimation of the material body. 'Celsus next assails the doctrine of the resurrection, a high and difficult doctrine, and one which more than others requires a high and advanced degree of wisdom to set forth how worthy it is of God; and how sublime a truth it is which teaches us that there is a seminal principle lodged in that which the Scriptures describe as *the tabernacle of the soul, in which the righteous do groan, not that they would be unclothed, but clothed upon*. Celsus ridicules this doctrine because he does not understand it, and because he has learned it from ignorant persons (*ἀπὸ ἰδιωτῶν*) who were unable to support it on any reasonable grounds.' Then Origen goes on to argue that the soul clothes itself in different forms at different times. When it comes into the world at birth it casts off the integuments which it needed as an embryo, and before doing this puts on another body suited to its life on earth. So again, he says, when the earthly house of the body is dissolved, the Scripture teaches us that we shall be *clothed upon with a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens*. 'Behold, then, to what a prospect Scripture encourages us to look, when it speaks to us of being clothed with incorruption and immortality, which are (as it were) vestments which will not suffer those who are clothed with them to come to corruption and death. Thus far I have taken the liberty of referring to this subject,' Origen concludes, 'in answer to one who assails the doctrine of the resurrection without understanding it, and who, simply because he knew nothing about it, made it the object of contempt and ridicule.'

In another place Origen refers to the subject again. He says that Celsus has 'ridiculed at great length the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh,' and goes on to state that

¹ *Contra Celsum*, VII. 32 (Migne, *Pat. Gr.*, XI. 1465B-1468A).

'neither we, nor the Holy Scriptures, assert that with the same bodies, without a change to a higher condition, "those who were long dead shall arise from the earth and live again"' [quoting the words of Celsus], 'for in so speaking Celsus makes a false charge against us.' Then he goes on to expound the apostle's words about the spiritual body, and says that, 'though the soul may require a body for the sake of moving from place to place' (*διὰ τὰς τοπικὰς μεταβάσεις*), it will not be such a body as we can conceive, but a form of incorruption and immortality, in which the victory of death will be annihilated.¹

In still another passage, expounding Ps. i. 5, he argues that even in this life the body is not always the same, for it alters its aspect, and the very matter which composes it is changed from year to year, but what constitutes its peculiar essence as an organ of the soul is an *εἶδος χαρακτηρίζον*, and it is this distinct impress of identity, so to speak, restored in a higher form, that constitutes the spiritual body.*

Now this is clearly in the right direction. What the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Body really means is a belief in personal immortality—with a difference. Most people who have any real belief in immortality would accept a statement of faith as to the survival of the self. But more than that is suggested by this belief in the spiritual body, and here is really the whole significance of the dogma. How can the survival of self be conceived if it is merely the survival of pure, undistinguished, undifferentiated spirit?

Formless spirituality is something utterly inconceivable by the human mind. It may be stated, as the existence of nothingness may be stated, but it surely cannot be represented to the mind. We know nothing of spirit, as a matter of fact, except as enshrined and expressed in bodily form. We believe that God is a spirit, but if that were all we knew

¹ Ibid., V. 18, 19 (Migne, XI. 1205D-1209B).

* *Selecta in Psalmos*, Ps. i. (Migne, XII. 1094BC).

of God we should know nothing of Him whatever. All our knowledge of God comes to us through the fact of the universe and through the fact of Christ. We know God, first of all, through the existence of the universe. It is an embodiment of His thought and His will, and therefore, in some sense, of Himself. The expression of the mind and purpose of God in the sum of existence is gravely discounted and distorted by the existence of evil; but, even when we remember that, the fact remains that, for every one who believes in God, the universe (or all that is good in it) is a revelation of God, by way of an actual embodiment of His eternal purpose. As the Erdgeist says to Faust :

So schaff' ich am sausenden Webstuhl der Zeit
Und wirke der Gottheit lebendiges Kleid.

In the great phrase of the apostle, that which is invisible in God (*τὰ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ*), that is, His eternal power and deity, are seen in the things that are made.

Again, it is the very essence of the Christian faith to believe that God became man, that is to say, that God embodied Himself in Christ. Practically all who would care to call themselves Christians believe that, as there is a partial and preliminary revelation of God in the universe, there is also a full, final, unique, and personal revelation of God in Christ, and that it is there, and only there, that we find God made known to us in a way that really satisfies the soul of man. There is a revelation of God in nature, and there is a revelation of God in history. The one means that God has enshrined Himself in the universe. The other means that God has embodied Himself in a man. All our knowledge of God, therefore, comes to us by way of the fact that God has given to men a visible, definite, bodily expression of Himself in the world and in Christ.

Again, it is of the essence of religion to believe that man is a spirit. But the human spirit always lives in a body, and always expresses itself through a body. The soul, so far

as our experience goes, must possess an organ, and never exists bare, bodiless, formless—

For of the soule the bodie forme doth take ;
For soule is forme, and doth the bodie make.

We assuredly cannot represent to the mind the existence of any finite spirit, in the body or out of the body, which does not possess (whether as bestowed upon it, or as derived from itself) some form ; however immaterial, however spiritualized, however glorified, however remote from all our thought—still, some character of identity, some differentiation which makes it more than formless existence.

It is certain that no doctrine of immortality will really satisfy the religious consciousness for long which does not mean the survival of identity. An immortality of influence—to ‘live again in minds made better by our presence’—is little more than an empty form of words. An absorption into the Absolute is certainly a very different conception, and may be made to accord with the Christian hope, if it is interpreted in the fashion of Porphyry’s doctrine that ‘particular souls subsist, as well as the Universal Soul, independently of bodies, without the unity of the Universal Soul absorbing the multiplicity of the particular souls, or the multiplicity of particular souls splitting up the unity of the Universal Soul. Particular souls are distinct without being separate ; they are united to each other without being confused, and without making the Universal Soul a simple aggregate.’ Or, in other words (as Dr. Inge suggests that a modern philosopher might attempt to explain Porphyry’s doctrine), we may think of ‘an infinite number of *foci* in one infinite consciousness.’

This is practically the doctrine of some of the mystics, and notably of Eckhart. Writing of the soul that has become one with God, he says : ‘In this exaltation the soul has lost itself, and is flowing utterly into the unity of

1 W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, I. 215–16.

the divine nature. Now one may ask, How is it with this lost soul?—does it find itself or not? I will say that it seems to me that it does find itself, at the point where every intelligent existence (*jeglich vernünftic Wesen*) knows itself with itself. For, though it sinks utterly into the unity of the divine being, it can never reach the bottom. Therefore God has left it one little point where it turns upon itself, and finds itself, and knows itself to be a creature.¹

In these conceptions, however, the very point at issue is safeguarded, in some measure. The soul is still somehow *itself*, though it be somehow lost in God. On the other hand, if the spirit is thought of as being utterly lost in the Deity, as a drop is lost in the ocean, what religious value does the belief retain? There is really no difference at all, from the side of our human experience, between being totally merged in the Absolute, and being annihilated. In both cases *I* cease to exist, whatever the course of universal existence may be.

It is quite unfair to argue, as some writers have done, that this desire for the survival of identity is the apotheosis of egotism. It is not that we desire to exist to the exclusion of other personalities, or for any selfish reason, but that, if human spirits cease to exist and to be themselves, the whole of existence becomes an anticlimax. The moral and spiritual worth of our life depends upon an eternal quality. The noblest desires and resolves and efforts of our life are all penetrated by a deep conviction that these experiences do not begin and end in themselves; that they do not find their source and their goal merely in time; that their entire significance is not limited by a few fleeting years; but that what I am, and what I do, does matter universally and everlastingly. If the whole value and the whole result of human life passes away with the end of this planet (and the life of the earth is but a moment in eternity), does

¹ Pfeiffer, *Meister Eckhart*, p. 387.

anything really matter much? That is the real root of the desire for survival; it is bound up with the moral significance and the spiritual worth of our lives. As Walt Whitman characteristically wrote: If worms and rats end us, then Alarum! we are betrayed! Now how can the survival of personality be represented to the mind except as meaning that the disembodied spirit must still possess some definite identity, something which makes it distinguishable from other spirits, and, so to speak, recognizable by other spirits—something which we can scarcely express otherwise than as spiritual form? We are driven to paradox, as St. Paul was; *πνεῦμα* and *σῶμα* are absolute opposites, and yet he found himself forced to write of a *σῶμα πνευματικόν*. The difficulty lies in the very nature of the thing of which we are striving to think, and in the poverty of language—as the poet found himself compelled to write, ‘if shape it might be called that shape had none.’ There is no suggestion of anything material, or tangible, or visible; and yet, if we are to think of an individual spirit, we must believe that there is something individual about it. That individuality, that distinctness of entity, that separate, differentiated, recognizable character—what is it to be called if not spiritual form, or a spiritual body?

Eternal form shall still divide
The eternal soul from all beside,
And I shall know him when we meet.

The apostle and the English poet are feeling after the same truth, and each is expressing it as well as he can.

It may be urged that this really amounts only to mythology, or to symbolism at the best. The answer is that there is precisely as much and precisely as little—whichever you like—of the mythological and the symbolical in it as there is in many doctrines of philosophy and science. The man of science who writes of ‘laws’ and ‘currents’ and ‘attractions’ is as frankly anthropomorphic as any theologian

ever was, for in those terms he is simply comparing the rules of the behaviour of things in general with an Act of Parliament, and some particular facts in the behaviour of electrical force and of material bodies with a stream of water and with a man pulling a rope. The fact is that you cannot escape metaphor and myth, either in language or in thought. However you strive for logical exactness in your conceptions and for dry precision in your statements, you cannot escape either symbolism of thought or symbolism of language. The only thing to do is to use the symbols, and to remember that they are symbols. If any one argues that to speak of a spiritual form and of an immaterial body is only an attempt to represent to the mind by symbol and metaphor and paradox what (if it really exists at all) is beyond representation, we should agree—and cheerfully persist in the attempt. For if we believe in immortality this is the only way in which we can represent an immortality that really means anything at all. And, if immortality in any real sense is a fact, there must be that quality in it, however far beyond our present powers of comprehension, which really corresponds to these symbols,

... dreams that are true, yet enigmatical,
For the belongings of that heavenly state
Save through such symbols, come not home to thee.

They are symbols, doubtless, but they are symbols which seek to express what otherwise would be inexpressible—thoughts of the human mind and longings of the human spirit which lie too deep for tears, and which the Christian soul believes to be answered by eternal realities.

HENRY BETT.

THE PROHIBITION OF WIDOW-BURNING IN BRITISH INDIA

SUTTEE became illegal in Bengal in December 1829, and in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies six months later. But there had been local prohibition previously. Albuquerque in 1510 prohibited it at Goa. The third of the Sikh gurus, Amar Das (1552-74), condemned it—with little ultimate result, for in the first fifty years of last century the Sikh record of suttees was a shocking one, even beside that of Rajputana. The rite aroused the horror of the Moguls, and Akbar rode at top speed nearly a hundred miles to save the Raja of Jodhpur's daughter-in-law from burning against her will. He is often said to have forbidden suttee; but he could only insist that it be voluntary, and even this restriction could obtain only in the districts under direct Mohammedan administration. His successor, Jahangir, in 1620 is believed to have forbidden it more directly. But a great deal of uncertainty hangs over these Mohammedan attempts to suppress suttee. All that is certain is, the Mogul emperors strongly discountenanced it.

It is usual to say that these early efforts at suppression failed. But within the regions directly controlled by Delhi they were substantially successful, and suttee was driven into native States and outlying, semi-independent provinces such as Bengal. Charles Metcalfe¹ (who in 1829 anticipated rebellion in Bengal as a result of Bentinck's prohibition), twenty years before, when Resident at Delhi and a young man of twenty-five, forbade suttee. Only once was it found necessary to resort to a show of force to prevent the rite—so completely had two centuries of Mohammedan rule eradicated the sentiment in its favour.

Among the Marathas there seems always to have been a

¹ Afterwards Lord Metcalfe.

certain feeling against suttee, which struggled with that in its favour. The Marathas have had 'a bad Press' with English writers, just as the Rajputs have had a conspicuously good one. As Mr. Kipling has enthusiastically reminded us,

The Rajput is a man and a brother, in respect that he will ride, shoot, eat pig, and drink strong waters like an Englishman. Of the pig-hunting he makes almost a religious duty, and of the wine-drinking no less.¹

But the Maratha, though lacking in these fine qualities and often as unattractive in personal appearance as that magnificent person the Rajput is attractive, is a man of high intelligence, and has given his women a great deal of freedom, and, on the whole, has not considered it necessary either to seclude or to burn them. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Maratha distaste for suttee grew, and the famous Queen Ahalya Bai, who died in 1795, discouraged it, and did her best, though in vain, to dissuade a daughter from mounting the pyre. Before the century ended, two Maratha States—the Peshwa's personal dominions and, in the south of India, Tanjore—prohibited suttee. The prohibition can hardly have been entirely effective, and Tanjore relapsed later,* so that it became one of the few bad centres of the rite in the Indian peninsula. A third Maratha State, Savantvadi, was mentioned by the Governor of Bombay, in a letter dated May 6, 1821, as having abolished suttee ten or twelve years before.

Soon after the nineteenth century opened, the Dutch administration prohibited suttee in Chinsura; and the French at Chandranagar and the Danes at Serampur, without making it an offence, suppressed it by administrative interference. Hindus resident in these towns had to take

¹ *Letters of Marque*, IX.

* This fact has been overlooked by the *Oxford History*, and other writings that treat of suttee; and in fairness it must be mentioned, as well as the temporary prohibition.

their widows into British territory, and to get a British magistrate's sanction, before burning them.

All these suppressions took place in small and compact districts—with the exception of the only partially successful action of the Moguls. The problem of the British Government was a much more difficult one; nor could a way be found out by the mere inquiry as to whether the rite was enjoined in the Hindu scriptures or not. Suttee was there; and in the early days of a struggling administration it was simply accepted, and there was little notice taken of it. In February 1789, Mr. M. H. Brooks, the Collector of Shahabad, forcibly prevented a suttee, and reported his action; Government approved, but told him that he must not resort to 'coercive measures' or exercise of authority, but use private influence only.¹ In 1803, William Carey the missionary took a census² of suttees occurring within a circle extending thirty miles from Calcutta; the returns were necessarily inadequate, but came to four hundred and thirty-eight. Next year, he placed ten reliable men at intervals throughout the same extent of country, each man being given a definite station and area of observation; they sent in monthly reports for six months. The number of suttees reported was less, but showed that between two and three hundred widows were burnt.³ Carey placed these results before the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, who was shocked and strongly inclined to prohibit the rite. Instead, in August 1805, he submitted the matter to the Supreme Court, who replied two years later, recommending that Government guide its policy by 'the religious opinions and prejudices of

¹ *Calcutta Review*, 1867, p. 224, anonymous article, 'Suttee.'

² William Ward, *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*, III., p. 329 (1822 edition).

³ Ward. His language is loose, and may mean that the returns showed that widows were being burnt at the rate of between two and three hundred a year; or that this number actually were burnt in six months only.

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the natives.'¹ In this way, Government entered on a course of vacillation and timidity which lasted for a quarter of a century.

In 1812, the question that had been shelved was again raised, by Wauchope, an official in Bandelkhand, who merely asked what he was to do about suttee. Government and the Supreme Court looked at one another, and the court 'then exhumed' their advice of some years previously, which had been framed after referring to Hindu pundits the questions which Government in 1805 had referred to *them*. Government, therefore, on December 5, 1812, having considered both the judicial and the ecclesiastical replies, forbade compulsion or the use of drugs and intoxicants to tamper with the *sati's* will, and instructed magistrates to stop the rite also in the case of girls under sixteen or women who were pregnant, as in such circumstances it would be repugnant to the principles of Hindu law. The police were ordered to try to get early information of an intended suttee, and a police officer (usually a Hindu or Mohammedan, as the few British officers could not attend the hundreds of suttees that took place) was to be present at the pyre, to see that everything was in order. These instructions were unfortunate :

The Government and the Sudder Court² were, in fact, getting into a dilemma by attempting to introduce justice and law into what was, in itself, the highest kind of illegality, the most palpable injustice, and the most revolting cruelty.³

There can be no doubt that the new regulations increased suttee. In 1825, the Governor of Bombay disapproved of the presence of a magistrate at the rite, 'as tending to give more dignity to the ceremony and to render the merit of the sufferer more conspicuous'; in the same year, C. T. Sealy,

¹ *Calcutta Review*, 1867.

² The Supreme Court.

³ *Calcutta Review*, 1867, p. 235.

⁴ Peggs, *India's Cries to British Humanity*, pp. 58-9.

a Calcutta Judge, declared: 'I have always been of opinion that we increased the number of suttees by sanctioning them.'¹ In December 1818, at the end of the worst year for suttees of which we have any record, H. Oakley, Collector of Hooghly, wrote :

Previous to 1813 no interference on the part of the police was authorized, and widows were sacrificed legally or illegally as it might happen ; but the Hindus were then aware that the Government regarded the custom with natural horror, and would do anything short of direct prohibition to discourage and gradually to abolish it. The case is now altered. The police officers are ordered to interfere, for the purpose of ascertaining that the ceremony is performed in conformity with the rules of the shastras, and in that event to allow its completion. This is granting the authority of Government for the burning of widows ; and it can scarcely be a matter of astonishment that the number of the sacrifices should be doubled when the sanction of the ruling power is added to the recommendation of the shastra.*

A more cautiously worded, but not less valuable, testimony can be added :

The Governor-General in Council is reluctantly led to express his apprehension that the greater confidence with which the people perform this rite under the sanction of Government, as implied or avowed in the circular orders already in force, combined with the excitement of religious bigotry by the continual agitation of the question, may have tended to augment, rather than diminish, the frequency of these sacrifices.*

I think there can be no doubt that the sanction of the Government was sometimes misrepresented as an *order* that widows should burn.

Against the timidity of Government it is fair to remember the courage of many officials, men of generous instincts and humanity, who forbade suttee in their jurisdiction. Thus it came about that in the district round Delhi the rite had been driven out of existence, and in many wild places and bigoted towns suttee was prevented by one man's fearlessness. In some of the native States, also, the Resident used his influence

¹ Peggs, p. 58.

* Ibid., p. 53.

* Ibid., p. 53.

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successfully to prevent the rite. Tod, after speaking of the eighty-four *satis* at the funeral of Raja Budh Singh of Bundi, adds with justifiable exultation :

Budh Singh was . . . one of the most intrepid generals of Auranzeb; the period elapsed is about one hundred and twenty years. Mark the difference! When his descendant, my valued friend the Rao Raja Bishan Singh, died in 1821, his last commands were that none should give such a proof of their affection. He made me guardian of his infant heir; in a few days I was at Bundi, and his commands were religiously obeyed.¹

In 1823, Sir John Malcolm wrote :

In the whole of Central India there have not been, as far as can be learnt, above three or four suttees annually for the last twenty years. . . . Those shocking scenes which still occur on the death of the princes of Jeypoor, Joudpoor, and Odeypoor, to swell whose funeral honours numbers of unwilling females are forcibly thrown upon the pile, are unknown to this country.²

And, for one cause and another—the vigorous disapproval of such men as Tod and Malcolm being one—suttee was at last slowly dying out, except in Rajasthan, Bengal, and the Panjab; through vast tracts of country it had practically disappeared. So completely had it faded out of the tradition of the district round Delhi, and much of what later became the United Provinces, that, even in the mighty incandescence of Hindu passion and sentiment in the Mutiny of 1857, we do not hear of suttees. We should have heard of them abundantly if Rajasthan or Bengal had been among our enemies. Maratha sentiment, after a temporary yielding, was gathering against the rite; even at Poona, between 1800 and 1810, its occurrence had dropped to about a dozen cases annually ‘on an average of as many years.’³ Dubois, in 1816, wrote that suttee was ‘more rare in the peninsula

¹ II., p. 838 (Clarendon Press edition).

² *A Memoir of Central India*, II., p. 207.

³ Edward Moor, *Hindu Pantheon* (edited by W. O. Simpson, 1864), p. 318.

than in the northern parts of India¹; and Elphinstone, whose impressions were formed about the same time, though published twenty-three years later, states that it never occurred to the south of the River Krishna—a statement not true, though the rite was rare in the south, and yearly growing rarer. In the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, during the years 1815 to 1820, the average number of annual suttees was well below fifty. In Madras it was less common in the centre, and in the west and south unknown, except in Tanjore and one estate in Kanara²; Tanjore, now the worst district, had twenty-four cases in eighteen months (*circa* 1816). About the same time, the Judge of South Malabar spoke of it as entirely absent; there had been two attempts to perform it, but the people themselves had opposed them, and the funeral parties had been compelled to take their widows to Coimbatore to burn. ‘Since that time nothing of the kind has been attempted, nor would the natives quietly permit it on the soil of Malabar.’³

We must now return to the effect of the 1813 regulations in Bengal. There are no returns for 1814, owing to the delay in finally sanctioning the orders originally made out in December 1812. But the first four years for which returns were made give the following result in the districts subordinate to the Presidency of Bengal:

1815	. . .	378	suttees were officially reported.
1816	. . .	442	” ” ” ”
1817	. . .	707	” ” ” ”
1818	. . .	839	” ” ” ”

In 1818, the year when the pyres blazed most fiercely, Rammohan Ray began to publish his pamphlets against the rite, action which aroused such anger that for a while his life was in danger. But he awakened a conscience in his own countrymen, which presently found expression in protests in native newspapers; and the number of suttees never

¹ Edited by Pope, p. 172.

² *History*.

³ *Calcutta Review*, 1867, p. 233. ⁴ *Calcutta Review*, 1867, p. 233.

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reached this height again. The awful record of 1818 disquieted many officials exceedingly ; and in England indignation began to gather, which ultimately put upon the Indian Government a pressure that they could not withstand. On June 17, 1823, the Court of Directors, answering a letter of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, of October 1, 1820, pointed out the apparent tendency of the rules, and of official interference, to increase suttee ; they added that many considered it not a religious rite at all, and they invited the Indian Government to take up the question seriously, promising their hearty co-operation. Lord Amherst, the Governor-General, wrote back despairingly, on December 3, 1824 :

Were we to be guided by the sentiments which we happen to know exist generally among the higher classes of natives at the place most favourable for ascertaining their real sentiments, we mean at the Presidency, we should, indeed, despair of ever seeing the suppression of the practice.

Lord William Cavendish-Bentinck had served as Governor of Madras, twenty-two years before he was appointed Governor-General of India in 1827 ; but he had never even seen a suttee-stone, and he brought to the question of continuing or prohibiting the rite a mind fresh and independent. A passage in Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections* is of such interest that I transcribe it, a little more fully than is strictly relevant to my purpose :

When I passed this place on horseback with Lord Bentinck, he asked me what these tombs were, for he had never seen any of the kind before. When I told him what they were, he said not a word ; but he must have felt a proud consciousness of the debt of gratitude which India owes to the statesman who had the courage to put a stop to this great evil, in spite of all the fearful obstacles which bigotry and prejudice opposed to the measure. The seven European functionaries in charge of the seven districts of the newly-acquired territories were requested, during the administration of Lord Amherst in 1826, to state whether the burning of widows could or should be prohibited ; and I believe every one of them declared *that it should not*. And yet, when it was put a stop to only a few years after by

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Lord William, not a complaint or murmur was heard. The replies to the Governor-General's inquiries were, I believe, throughout India, for the most part, opposed to the measure.¹

Sleeman is speaking from hearsay, and it could be shown that he was mistaken, except in what he says of 'the seven European functionaries in charge of the seven districts of the newly-acquired territories,' which were districts that he knew well at first hand. These districts were all in Central India, abutting on Rajputana, where the pro-suttee feeling was strongest; even so, Vincent Smith's comment is fair and true: 'The tenor of the replies given to Lord Amherst's queries shows how far the process of Hinduizing had advanced among the European officials of the Company.'² But it had not advanced so far among the officials in parts of India that had been longest under British rule; and Peggs collects some forty statements made by East India Company servants in the dozen years preceding the abolition, that suttee could be abolished without any danger, and ought to be abolished without delay.

Lord Bentinck took over in July 1828; and he did not act without the most careful preliminary investigation and consultation of officials and pundits. But he was resolute to act upon a purpose with which his predecessors had only played—Lord Wellesley having been dissuaded by the supposed danger in the army, and Hastings and Amherst having been driven into perplexed and unhappy courses of allowing suttee under legal sanction. Many predicted rebellion if the custom were prohibited; the native army, especially, was alleged to be bigoted in its adherence to the rite. But Bentinck ascertained that suttee was very rare indeed in our native army—which is not strange, seeing that, except for about a thousand men in the artillery, the army was not recruited from Bengal at all, but from the up-country, where Moslem rulers had, through two hundred years,

¹ I., pp. 133-4 (1898 edition).

² Ibid., p. 134.

discouraged suttee. Of forty-nine British military officers asked for their opinion, a majority advocated abolition, some with more or less hesitation, but over twenty without any; only five were in favour of leaving the practice alone. The Governor-General's long Minute on suttee is as masterly in its summary of the opposition and reasons for opposition, and of the overwhelming argument in favour of abolition, as it is honourable to himself. And there proved to be no disturbance, even when the appeal of many religious and influential Bengalis was rejected by the Privy Council in 1832.

Regulation XVII. of 1829 made the burning or burying alive of widows culpable homicide, punishable with fine or (and) imprisonment; when compulsion or the use of drugs deprived the *sati* of free will, the offence might be punished with death as murder. It came into immediate operation in Bengal, and was adopted in Madras and Bombay six months later. It was adopted with these modifications in Bombay: that the offence was murder if the widow were under eighteen, and an extreme limit of ten years' imprisonment was set for suttee that was not murder. These laws lasted until 1860, when an Act made assistance in suttee punishable as abetment of suicide.

EDWARD THOMPSON.

THE STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT¹

IN view of the rather technical aspects of the subject which must of necessity loom largely in this lecture, you will not complain if our retrospect starts from this city of Birmingham, of which we are justly proud, with some names that will always shed lustre on the record of English biblical scholarship.

It was in the year after Queen Victoria's accession to the throne that a new head master was appointed to the fine old Grammar School on the foundation of King Edward VI, which had just moved into the stately building in New Street. James Prince Lee had served as an assistant master at Rugby under the great Dr. Arnold, and brought to his fresh position, not only high attainments as a classical scholar, but also strong convictions on the place of divinity in the curriculum of a school. During his ten years as head master he inspired with his enthusiasm three boys, who went up from his school to Cambridge to win high honours at the University, and were destined to leave a deep impress on the life and thought of the English Church. Archbishop Benson must not detain us now, for it is not as author of a Commentary on the Revelation of John, but as a great statesman of the Church, that he will always be remembered. He was, in his schooldays, the bosom friend of John Barber Lightfoot, afterwards Bishop of Durham, of whom we shall have much more to say. In that picturesque Life of the archbishop, his son has preserved a recollection of the two younger boys who often watched with admiration the head boy as he stood with the seniors of the sixth in the big school, around the railed-in square which encloses the seat of Wisdom. Brooke

¹ Inaugural lecture given at the Commemoration Service, Handsworth College, Birmingham, on October 1, 1926.

Foss Westcott, the favourite pupil of the head master, is seen in the privileged attitude of standing with head resting on his hand against the rail as he repeats without a flaw his allotted portion from the classics. Westcott went up to Trinity, and Lightfoot, who followed him a few years later, became one of a small band of enthusiastic pupils. We must not linger over the years which Westcott spent as a master at Harrow, but we shall come back some twenty years later to find these two, together with Fenton John Anthony Hort, revolutionizing the study of theology in that University.

Meanwhile, changes have been taking place in Birmingham. The great Prince Lee has been transferred to Manchester, as first bishop of that See, where he was to prove that the virtues which make an admirable head master do not always qualify for episcopacy. Under his successor, Dr. Gifford, another generation of brilliant boys was preparing for the University, most of these being destined for Oxford. Now let us look through the window of a Methodist manse, and take note of the remarkable circle of boys and girls who often gather around that hearth. George Browne Macdonald is minister of Wesley Chapel, on Constitution Hill. His elder son, a promising scholar, is always bringing his school friends home with him. Amongst them we see Edward Burne-Jones, afterwards to marry one of those brilliant sisters, another of whom was to marry Sir Edward Poynter, another to become the mother of Rudyard Kipling, and yet another the mother of Mr. Stanley Baldwin. This, however, is to look too far ahead. Wilfred Heeley, William Fulford, Cornell Price, Richard Watson Dixon, and one more, are pointed out to us by the younger brother, F. W. Macdonald, who was, long years after, to be the first theological tutor of Handsworth College. That remaining boy, the quietest of the group, was Edwin Hatch, known to all of us as the author of the hymn :

Breathe on me, breath of God ;
Fill me with life anew.

With several of his fellow Edwardians he went up to Oxford, then served a curacy in the East End, and, after holding important educational posts in Canada, came to Oxford in 1867 as Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, in 1880 was Bampton Lecturer, for the next four years was Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint, and for the remaining five years of his life was Reader in Ecclesiastical History, and did more to stimulate independent research into Christian origins and to win respect for British theological scholarship on the Continent than perhaps any of his contemporaries during those few years in that ancient University. Lightfoot died in the last month of 1889, a few weeks after Hatch, and Westcott followed him in the bishopric of Durham. Three years later, Hort, the sole survivor of the group at Cambridge, died, and, though precious fragments of his work have been published from time to time since then, and though Westcott lived into the present century, his theological career was at an end, and the great epoch may be said to have closed just a third of a century ago.

There is something more than the purely local interest to justify us in bringing together the names of Westcott, Lightfoot, and Hatch. They stand for two great schools of pioneer biblical scholarship in the older Universities of England. If we first consider their achievement, it will be easier to survey the fields that have been won for biblical science by the generation that followed them. Perhaps we should hold in highest estimation the influence and example of their insistence upon linguistic and historical investigation, unhampered by traditional views and unscientific method. Within two years of Westcott's appointment to the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Cambridge we find Hort writing to a friend, 'Westcott is resuscitating the theological faculty from its sleep of centuries, supported thus far by all resident members of the Faculty.' Without endorsing all his theories as to early Christian ideas and organization, we may hazard the statement that the dust which Hatch's writings raised in

Oxford a decade later was not all the dust of controversy. When we pass on to assess the solid results of their contribution to New Testament studies, Westcott's memorial, and that of his former pupil and lifelong friend, Hort, is the first scientifically-prepared text of the Greek New Testament, built up from the foundations by prodigious labour and unsparing devotion to detail. It is to these two patient scholars that we owe our first text of the Greek Testament, based on an exhaustive examination of the available material, and constructed according to principles of criticism tested through a long course of years. Next to this must be mentioned the series of commentaries in which Westcott brought his Platonic temperament, his mystical insight, his subtlety, and his erudition to expound the Gospel and Epistles of John and the Epistle to the Hebrews, whilst Lightfoot interpreted the Pauline Epistles with massive learning and extraordinary sanity of judgement. Lightfoot's genius was essentially historical, and two of his greatest services were to expose once for all the unsound historical method of the Tübingen school in reconstructing the history of the apostolic age, and next, to prepare the way for the fresh study of the sub-apostolic age by his monumental edition of the apostolic Fathers. Hatch, like Lightfoot, was by temperament a born historian. Like him, much of his best work was buried in dictionaries. Like him was he also in his courageous detachment from dogmatic presuppositions when tracing the development of the Christian ministry in the first centuries. But he claims our attention now for two great services which he rendered to the linguistic side of New Testament studies. He designed, and prepared much of the material for, the great Oxford Concordance to the Septuagint. In his *Essays in Biblical Greek* he opened up a subject of the utmost importance for the understanding of the vocabulary of the New Testament writers. Nor must we overlook the value of the Hibbert Lectures on *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*. All these

lines of investigation were soon to be followed up, with fruitful results.

When we turn our attention to the generation that followed these giants, we are amazed at the progress made in every direction. Westcott's successor in the Regius Professorship, H. B. Swete, produced the Cambridge Septuagint, a worthy companion to the Westcott-Hort text of the New Testament; the larger edition, by Drs. Brooke and M'Lean, is now well on its way, and Dr. Thackeray's *Grammar of the Septuagint* (Vol. I.) helped to revive interest for New Testament students in the linguistic importance of the Greek Old Testament. An even greater revolution swept over the field of Hellenistic Greek when excavators in Egypt began to discover the vast stores of papyri which the arid wastes of sand have preserved uninjured through all the centuries. The publication in 1897, and again in 1904, of small papyrus fragments recording traditional sayings of Jesus provoked a sensation, and turned popular attention to the quiet work which two Oxford scholars had been carrying on for some years. But this work is truly international, and scholars from many Universities in Germany, France, and Italy, as well as from Great Britain and America, have shared in the editing and publication of these innumerable documents from the rubbish-heaps of Egypt. Only an occasional fragment of religious interest has so far been recovered. To a German pastor belongs the credit of first discovering the real significance of these discoveries. Dr. Adolf Deissmann recognized, some thirty years ago, that these everyday letters and documents were written in the very language of our New Testament, and put New Testament lexicography on a new basis by his researches. Drs. George Milligan and James Hope Moulton made the new finds available for English students, with the result that the lexicons we formerly used for the study of the New Testament have become hopelessly antiquated. It was our own Dr. James Moulton, also, who applied the evidence of the papyri to Hellenistic grammar, and by his *Prolegomena*,

which appeared in 1906, opened a new era in grammatical study of the New Testament comparable with that inaugurated by the first publication of Winer's *Grammar* in 1822. In this work he was inspired, not only by Deissmann's pioneer research, but also by the great German philologist, Albert Thumb, whose death in the first year of the War deprived Greek scholarship of the man who had done most to trace the development of the Greek language from the earliest age down to the vernacular spoken in Greece to-day, and to set the language of the Greek Bible in its relation to both. But, while the sands of Egypt have been yielding treasure-trove to the grammarian and lexicographer, the spade has not been idle in Asia Minor, and we must not forget the contribution of such archaeologists as Sir William Ramsay to the vindication and illumination of the Lucan narrative in Acts. Discoveries of another kind call for mention because of their bearing on the text of the New Testament. In its main principles the work of Westcott and Hort has stood the test of time. The chief modification has come from a recognition that the text represented by the two oldest uncials and their loyal supporters is not quite so free from local influences as Hort supposed, and that some of the authorities for what he called the Western text represent an older and more widely accepted form of the textual tradition than then seemed probable. Three very interesting discoveries since their time have contributed to this revaluation of authorities. In 1892 two Cambridge ladies, Mrs. Lewis, and Mrs. Gibson, found in the monastery on Mount Sinai a very early translation of the Gospels into Syriac. In 1906, Mr. Freer, a wealthy American traveller, bought from an Arab dealer near Cairo a codex of the Four Gospels which ranks in age with the five or six oldest that are known to exist. Then, in 1913, an eighth-century manuscript, which had been lost sight of for thirty years, was discovered in a remote valley in the Caucasus, where for long it had been a kind of village fetish. In the last three years this has

proved the clue to the problem of the relationship between two important groups of cursive manuscripts, and has thus marked a fresh advance in the treatment of the text of the New Testament. While speaking of recent discoveries, it is only fitting that we should call to mind that it was in Birmingham in 1909 that Dr. Rendel Harris found, among some MSS. which had come from the East and were in his possession, a collection of forty-two Syriac hymns called the Odes of Solomon. The discussions that followed their publication have not yet produced general agreement, but they seem likely to show us something of the soil in which the seed of the gospel, scattered in all directions, grew up and bore fruit somewhere in Western Asia in the second century. The language of the twelfth ode is tinged with a Gnostic flavour, and there are several indications of tendencies of thought which recall, now the language of the Fourth Gospel, now the apocryphal Acts of Thomas.

By an easy transition we come to the region of biblical background, the *milieu* in which Christianity first arose, or in which it adapted itself to the current habits of thought, speech, or worship, as a missionary religion to all the world. Here we do not forget all the pioneer work in this country and abroad which had explored so much of the environment of early Christianity. The distinctive work of the new period was to examine more minutely the actual contact of primitive Christianity with contemporary forms of thought, and in some cases to make the literature of contemporary religion available for the general student. The two fields awaiting closer investigation were the popular religion of the Hellenistic world and the various forms of religious teaching and hope in Palestinian Judaism. In Hellenism, attention was soon turned to the Mystery religions, in which analogies were easily found to the Christian sacraments. Hatch had already considered the probable influence of these ubiquitous cults upon the theology of the developing Church, and postulated a certain infusion of paganism in the transition

from apostolic Christianity to Catholicism. But this was attributed to the converts from paganism or from the circles where the spiritual desires of men found satisfaction in the cult of Cybele or Attis, of Isis or Serapis. Primitive Christianity was not suspected of owing anything to such alien sources. About fifteen years ago, however, a group of German scholars attempted to show that not only in his sacramental teaching, but also in his whole conception of Christ as Lord, Paul was transforming the Judaic religion of Jesus into a Christ cult, after the fashion of the numerous divinity cults of the Hellenistic world. The German scholars whose names are specially associated with these theories are Reitzenstein and Bousset. The former found an English interpreter in Professor Kirsopp Lake, whose *Earlier Epistles of Paul* in 1911 declared that the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist was much more nearly primitive than the Protestant. Yet the writer went on to say, 'But the Catholic advocate, in winning his case, has proved still more: the type of doctrine which he defends is not only primitive, but pre-Christian. Christianity has not borrowed from the Mystery religions, because it was always, at least in Europe, a Mystery religion itself.' Bousset, whose range was far wider, has found an interpreter to English readers in the Scots-Canadian, Professor William Morgan, whose *Religion and Theology of Paul* fell upon a world that was distracted by the last agonies of the European War. The attempt to relate the Pauline teaching about the salvation that is in Christ Jesus to the widespread Oriental myth of the Redeemer-God has, for most scholars in this country, proved no more convincing than the misuse of the analogy between the Christian sacraments and the pagan mysteries. But, apart from ecclesiastical controversy (in which the word 'magic' is an irritant to be avoided), the main result of debate has been to call attention to elements in the Epistles which show how skilfully Paul employed the best available terminology of contemporary religion, becoming all things to all men if by

any means he might save some. We also see that, in the first generation of the Gentile mission, alien ideas were already inserting themselves, not indeed into the apostles' preaching, but into the interpretation which new converts were giving to Christian rites and truths. We have also come to recognize more clearly that the world to which the gospel was first proclaimed was deeply penetrated by a pessimistic dualism, which resulted in a yearning for deliverance and in a riot of theosophical speculation. Gnosticism was in the air, and, though the life-and-death struggle between Christianity as a historical revelation and Christianity as a pseudo-philosophical mythology took place in the second century, we can now trace the beginnings of the conflict, when subtle allusions and indirect forms of attack were still deemed sufficient. It would be ungrateful, as well as unjust, to overlook the debt which New Testament scholarship owes to those writers whose extreme theories have provoked the investigation of hitherto neglected aspects of the missionary problem in the first century. When we pass from the Hellenistic to the Jewish background of the New Testament, we are astonished at the strides made during the last generation. On the one side, the literature of Jewish Apocalyptic has been opened up, and here it is enough to name Dr. R. H. Charles, and the monument of British scholarship erected in the two noble volumes of the Oxford Apocrypha, which he planned and edited. Not only has research in this field thrown a flood of light on the Revelation of John; it has raised questions of vast importance with regard to the language used by Jesus about Himself, and has enabled us to provide the background of popular religious expectation against which the message of Jesus was first projected, and the atmosphere which His first disciples breathed. The absorbing interest in Apocalyptic half way through this period led to the well-remembered attempt of Schweitzer to reinterpret the life and teaching of Jesus. The failure of any theory which depends upon the special

pleading of an advocate who ignores unfavourable evidence could easily be foreseen. Yet, once again, this insistence upon a neglected element in the gospel tradition served as a corrective to the prevalent portrait of Jesus in Liberal Protestantism as a mere propounder of social-ethical principles of religious reform. Whilst the fresh study of Apocalyptic has enabled us to understand far better the popular religion of Palestinian Judaism, there was danger that the study of the official and orthodox Judaism of our Lord's time should suffer neglect. The study of the Talmud was no new discovery in this country. Indeed, for two and a half centuries the three volumes of *Horae Hebraicae*, by the seventeenth-century divine, John Lightfoot, have been a quarry from which much information has been removed by commentators on the Gospels. Perhaps the most striking feature about the last twenty years is the cordial co-operation of Jewish and Christian scholars in the study of rabbinic literature in its bearing upon the teaching of Jesus. One thinks of Dr. Claude Montefiore, not so much because of his Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels, as for his spirit of sincere admiration for One whom his compatriots have so often only named to disparage. Even more valuable have been the contributions of that learned rabbinical scholar, the late Israel Abrahams, whose *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* are an indispensable book of reference in any study of the teaching of Jesus. The latest example of this new spirit is to be found in Klausner's *Jesus of Nazareth*, a work written in Hebrew by a Zionist scholar for fellow Jews, and translated into English by an Anglican Canon of Jerusalem. If there are not a few instances of unsound critical judgement, and of wildly improbable interpretation, it is, none the less, a storehouse of Jewish learning from which the Christian student has much to gain. Most wonderful of all is the immense Commentary on the New Testament in the light of the Talmud and Midrash, in three volumes, with a fourth to follow, containing dissertations on special points,

by the two Germans, the late Professor Hermann Strack and the Protestant minister, Dr. Billerbeck. Another scholar from the Christian side who has greatly forwarded this interest in rabbinic studies is the Unitarian divine, Mr. Travers Herford. We are thus impressed, not only by the great output of learned work to guide the student in his attempt to understand the Judaism out of which Christianity sprang, but even more by the new temper of impartial investigation, free from sectarian suspicion. May we go on to register a similar deliverance from the provincialism which once marked New Testament scholarship in the older Universities? The Free Church of Scotland was a generation ahead of England in this matter, but the name which stands at the head of English New Testament scholarship during the past generation is that of the great Oxford leader, Dr. Sanday, and one of his greatest services was to foster international relations in the realm of biblical research. The mention of this honoured name brings us to the two remaining heads under which our observations of the past can be grouped. In the department of interpretation we have seen how much is due to Lightfoot for his Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles. But even these had their weakness. His friend Hort, who praised *Galatians*, on its appearance, for its candour and force in determining the nature of the apostolic *history* to which the Epistle is a key, lamented the avoidance of doctrinal questions, which had been postponed to the never-written Commentary on Romans. But, in such doctrinal notes as there were, Hort missed a real attempt to fathom Paul's own mind, to compare it with the facts of life. Now one of the first events in the new era was the publication of Sanday and Headlam's Commentary on Romans, and this charge can hardly be brought against it.¹ From this time onward we are conscious

¹ It is impossible to enumerate the exegetical commentaries which have won high distinction for British scholarships, but a Methodist remembers with pride Dr. George Findlay's expositions of most of the Pauline Epistles.

of a new interest in biblical theology. The language of each writer is carefully studied to find out exactly what he thought and taught. His own point of view, and his own contribution to the general Christian pool of experience, is diligently sought. The history of early organization and cultus is important in its place, but of far greater concern is the theological content of early Christian literature.¹ Next to this we must record the changed attitude to the literary and historical criticism of the documents. It is doubtful whether Westcott, whose *Introduction to the New Testament* was a text-book for a generation, ever seriously faced the Synoptic problem. The outstanding achievement in this period has been the work done by Sanday and his band of scholars at Oxford in solving the main questions about the first three Gospels and their relations one to another. Sir John Hawkins and Canon Streeter, in particular, have done work which puts the study of the Gospels on a surer footing for every serious student. With the exception of the Apocalypse of John, it may be doubted whether any decisive result has been reached, during these years, on the critical questions of authorship and date, about the other books in dispute. Twenty years ago, Harnack's conversion to the conservative date for Luke and Acts generally held in this country caused no small stir, and the question was asked, Is Saul also among the prophets? But even the great weight of Harnack's name has not brought over to this conclusion the mass of Continental opinion.

Now, when we turn from the past to look into the future, what are the tasks that seem to be pressing for immediate attention? If our weather forecast is to be determined by a depression over Germany which seems to be moving slowly in this direction, the next discussion will turn on the history

¹ We are still waiting for a great modern work in English on New Testament theology worthy to rank with those in German by H. J. Holtzmann and P. Feine.

of the Synoptic tradition. When, as seems probable, something like agreement has been reached as to the documentary history of the first three Gospels, is it possible to get back behind the first written Gospel to trace the stages by which the oral tradition became fixed in the order it has been given in Mark? Dr. Rawlinson, of Oxford, is the only British scholar so far who has followed the lead of Professor Dibelius, of Heidelberg, and those who are associated with him in this movement. Whatever fresh light may be thrown on the narrative, I venture to question the conclusions which necessitate the abandonment of the chronological framework of Mark as far as it goes. The verisimilitude of the development of the ministry as given in Mark is a miracle of artistry if it cannot be traced back to the coherent memory of a writer who recorded the story as he had heard it from one who was himself no small part in the developing drama. Another line of advance which has already begun is the closer examination of the relation between the Semitic and the Greek elements in the language of the Gospels and the Acts. This is a work in which Germany led the way, but America and England have made contributions of high value in the past few years, and the recent death of Canon Burney, of Oxford, recalls how much this department of research owed to his learning and enterprise. Another field has been opened up lately of which we in this country are sure to hear a great deal more before long. The recovery and recent translation into German of the sacred books of the Mandaeans, a sect claiming to be the direct descendants of the followers of John the Baptist, and still surviving in scattered communities in Iraq and Arabistan, has caused no small stir, and Mr. G. R. S. Mead has been quick to seize the opportunity thus offered in the interests of theosophy. The most significant sign of the times is that Walter Bauer has almost re-written his Commentary on the Fourth Gospel to fill his pages with parallels from Mandaean writings to Johannine language. Moreover, a new commentary on that

Gospel is shortly to appear in Meyer's great series, by Rudolf Bultmann, which, as we know from articles of his that have recently been published, will follow the same line. His contention is that, so far from representing the latest form of the development of Christian thought in the first century, the Fourth Gospel is influenced by a pre-Christian form of Gnosticism powerfully at work on the soil of Palestine. The evidence seems to me to be quite unequal to the strain put upon it, but enough has been said to show that from unexpected directions our familiar conception of the forces at work in the shaping of first-century theology are likely to be assailed. This naturally leads to the last forecast that one would venture to offer. It is not far short of a scandal that, after running for over thirty years, the *International Critical Commentary* has not yet produced a volume of the Gospel according to St. John.¹ Westcott's great work came out forty-five years ago, and its successor, long overdue, has not come to light. What qualities of mind and heart will be called for by him who essays that task! The mystical insight and devotional warmth of a Westcott, an imaginative sympathy with the peculiar genius of the evangelist, a critical discernment to hold the balance justly between the historical and the symbolical, a knowledge of rabbinical dialectic and interpretation, a mastery of the available data concerning the currents of Gnostic speculation, with its vocabulary and its cults—this, all this, and how much more, is really needed to unfold the purpose and meaning of the last and greatest of the Gospels.

W. F. HOWARD.

¹The good news has just appeared in the April issue of the *Review of the Churches* that Dr. J. H. Bernard's long-promised commentary in the *I.C.C.* is now in the press.

A LADY INSPECTOR

THOSE who suffer from the gloom of pessimism will find a tonic in the story by Miss Rose E. Squire, O.B.E., of her *Thirty Years in the Public Service*. To most of us surely the best and most hopeful sign of the times is the deepening concern for the welfare of the people. It abundantly confirms our belief that the world is getting better every day—more humane, more eager to lessen the ills of the workers. There is a deepening consciousness that simple justice demands, as the true condition of welfare in a nation, that every one should have the opportunity of making the best of life—that for the poorest and most beset with difficulty there should be, not a mere ladder nor a by-way to the best, but a high road, free from heavy tolls and costly licences.

To-day such a demand goes without saying. Only a few years ago, the proposal by Mr. Asquith that a woman inspector should be appointed to investigate the conditions of labour amongst women was regarded by many as something perilous. He tells us, 'It was considered by the State officials to be a terrible proposition; they shook their heads, and they did not sleep comfortably at night. It was declared the women would get their petticoats in the machines, and that it would be unseemly that they go about at night alone in the workshops.'

If this was the feeling of Government officials, we can think how fiercely it would be opposed by those who were financially concerned. It was to them ruin, an outrage on the rights of the employer. The rights of the employed had not begun to be considered.

How well fitted Miss Squire is to write her story, Sir Edward Troup tells us in his foreword:

In her time she visited every class of factory, workshop, and work-place in every great town and in many country districts of England,

Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. She explored the depths of a Cornish mine to track the sources of disease, routed out cruel oppressors of the poor in the wilds of Donegal, and fought for the rights of the fisher girls in the Shetland Islands.

One feels as one reads what keen pleasure Miss Squire took in her work, even when it entailed personal hardship and occasionally something very like personal danger. Not a few passages suggest to the reader that the book might appropriately have been called *The Joyous Adventures of Rose Squire*.

It was in January 1896 that Miss Squire commenced her work after a Civil Service examination. It is amusing to find that the examiner considered the necessary qualification for such an office an essay on the relative merits of music, painting, and sculpture, and a dictation from one of Sir Walter Scott's novels 'read in the broadest Glasgow accent, almost unintelligible to Saxon ears.' An inquiry as to her knowledge of the Factory Acts for the previous twenty years 'enabled me to score, and a retentive memory carried me happily along.'

She went forth with a warrant signed by the Home Secretary. There could be no trifling with such a document: 'I hereby authorize the said Rose Elizabeth Squire to prosecute, conduct, or defend before a court of summary jurisdiction or magistrate any information, complaint, or other proceeding arising under the Act or in discharge of the duty as such inspector.'

Soon complaints poured in from women and girls imploring a visit to the factory or workshop to see that they were 'perished with cold.' It was pathetic to find girls sitting wrapped in coats or shawls, with pinched faces and blue fingers, struggling to do their work. Even smart West End dressmakers were cruel enough to forbid the lighting of fire or stove on bitterly cold days. A typical letter ran: 'DEAR MISS,—Can anything be done for sewing machinists to get a little warmth? Many of us have no parents or homes of our own, so we are not so very well fed and warmed. We don't want anything unreasonable, only just to be warm

enough to work.' Nor was it of the cold only that complaints reached her. 'Of the disgusting conditions which we found to be common in regard to sanitary accommodation it is impossible to write.'

Here, too, was one to whom anxious fathers could go for the relief of their daughters. Sometimes the driver of a cab or hotel omnibus would hurriedly whisper, 'Go to So-and-So's factory between ten and eleven to-night. My daughter is working overtime night after night.' Or a working man would make inquiry, 'Are you the Government lady?'—and then drop a hint on behalf of his wife or daughter.

The fear of the inspector often drove the employer to a careful watch for her coming. Her work needed the skill of a detective and much courage.

On one occasion, after an absence of some weeks from a small town in the Midlands where I knew the railway station was watched, I arrived after dark by road from a distance, hurried into an hotel, and engaged a room from which I had a view of the factory windows. Watch was kept on the lighted windows until after ten o'clock, when I crossed the street and entered an unguarded door as some came out. I was found, half an hour later, by the astonished employer (who had been hastily fetched from his house) among the girls, taking their names and addresses in preparation for the inevitable prosecution.

On another occasion we find her, with two young colleagues, watching the front of a theatrical costumier's in Covent Garden.

I managed to slip in at the back door as a girl came out, and, turning quickly up the stairs, met the manager flying down, waving his hands and crying out excitedly, 'The inspector is here.' In the general scrimmage he had failed to see that I was not one of the employees, and had hoped to clear the house before the other inspectors, who had been seen at the door, entered.

It is with that spirit of 'joyous adventure' that she tells of her work with the men inspectors in night-raids to cope with the practice adopted by tailors' workshops of hiding women and girls.

Overtime for the women was only permitted until 10 p.m., and was prohibited for young persons under eighteen. At 2 a.m. I and one of my young women colleagues would meet two or three men inspectors at some pre-arranged street corner, and proceed to 'raid' the tailors' houses. It was not pleasant to be so suspicious, and to be deaf to all assurances that no woman was employed, and to entreaties (none the less pathetic because false) not to disturb the night rest of the wife or invalid sister by entering a bedroom. But experience proved how necessary such inroads were. I have found two girls disguised as a bolster behind a woman in bed, all fully dressed, working aprons and thimbles complete. I have even seen a bright, laughing, girlish face peeping out from under a sheet drawn over a still, recumbent figure laid on a bed in a closed room, from which I should have withdrawn abashed at having penetrated into the presence of the dead had I not, greatly daring, on a sudden intuition raised a corner of the covering and peeped in.

The women and girls thus concealed were glad to be discovered, and their employers did not resent being found out, but seemed to regard it as a game, in which sometimes we and sometimes they won.

One of the most scandalous offences consisted in fines and deductions from wages, particularly among the less well paid and organized workers. They had no security that they would receive the full wages to which they were entitled. When (as was not unusual) the fine for being five minutes late—arriving at the gates five minutes past six instead of 6 a.m.—entailed an amount of fines equivalent to an hour's pay, the loss at the end of the week was serious, and, in the case of pieceworkers, was felt to be an imposition, and was greatly resented. But fines for minor breaches of discipline were the most vexatious, and were the cause of many prosecutions. Sometimes a vague rule was included in a contract, such as 'Any act of misconduct, 6d.,' and the interpretation was left to the whim of any foreman.

Under the term of misconduct, or a breach of discipline, I have had many times to question the legality of fines actually inflicted for sneezing, laughing, and singing—for wearing hair-curlers. Of course, 'cheeking the foreman' was an offence which might be serious, but in the absence of any court of appeal the power to impose a heavy fine for it was liable to abuse. Some lists of such disciplinary fines of enormous length were found affixed in factories, every possible act or omission being included, and the amounts ranging from sixpence

to five shillings. One prosecution of mine, which made a considerable stir at the time, was heard in Bristol in 1901, and subsequently went to appeal before the High Court, and was in respect of some fines imposed on girls employed in a corset factory for the offence of 'dancing to a harp during their dinner hour.' The little girls, having sat sewing all the morning, had one day during their dinner hour (taken in the workroom, there being no messroom), naturally, as it would seem, taken some exercise by dancing about, while one of them performed on a harp of the variety played by the mouth and called, I think, a 'Jew's harp'!

One of the most interesting chapters is that in which she tells in very graphic style of her visit to Ireland to investigate the abuses and wrongs arising out of the Truck Act. First she goes unsuspected to gather her facts, apparently a tourist on a bicycle, wandering with sketch-book and sandwich-case. The scene of her adventures was in the north-west of Ireland. She was supposed to be an English lady in search of local colour for a new novel.

I spent my days at first roaming over the country, conversing by the roadside, on the moors, and in the cabins with women and girls, who were always ceaselessly knitting, and always welcomed and opened their hearts to the English lady. There was no doubt about it, the whole district seethed with discontent at the truck system, and groaned under the tyranny of the 'gombeen man.' The facts were easily learnt. Again and again the same story would be poured out in the soft, haunting brogue of old and young. 'It is not money at all we get, but just tea and sugar, and the tea, indeed, is not good; it is not worth putting water on.' Sometimes it would be a bonny girl knitting while in charge on the bog of a lean, starved-looking beast, no human habitation in sight, who would tell her story with indignation. Sometimes a mother knitting, seated on a little stool by her peat fire (the grandmother crouched beside her, also knitting and smoking a short clay pipe), in the smoky atmosphere of the mud-floored cabin, who, having driven out the hens and invited the stranger, with the air of a duchess, to come in and be seated, would pour out the selfsame story, the pathos of which none who have not heard it in its Irish setting can gauge.

All the year round the women knitted stockings. The yarn for knitting was supplied by the shopkeepers of Dungloe and other places throughout the district to women who tramped long distances barefooted (as much as eighteen and

twenty miles) from their isolated cabins to the shop to fetch the wool and return the completed socks. The shopkeepers were agents for hosiery firms and for big shops in Belfast and Londonderry. No money was paid by the agent, who handed to the workers, in exchange for their labour, goods from his shop, the goods being of whatever kind and quality suited his purpose best. Gradually shopkeepers here and there had succeeded in getting a whole district into their power by a system of barter; no money passed, and all competition was eliminated, as the customer was tied to her employer's shop.

Only by slow degrees could precise details as regards the various shopkeepers involved be cleared up, their very names and places of business only gradually emerged from a careful personal inquiry in remote regions. A need for small articles unlikely to arouse suspicion took the lady tourist into queer little general shops 'by accident,' at the very moment when it was crowded with women and girls carrying socks, and when packets of tea and sugar ready on the counter were exchanged for the socks by the salesman. This was a happy combination of luck and design which could not be repeated more than once, for suspicion was gradually growing, and began to change into certainty, that 'the Government was in it.'

Further information came from the parish priest and clergy of the Church of Ireland denouncing the tyranny that was ruining their flocks.

Later she returns to Ireland, no longer the private lady, but a Government official charged with the duty of conducting prosecutions. This was altogether another matter. She meets with such opposition and even peril that, by order of Dublin Castle, 'members of the R.I.C. patrolled the roads, and others accompanied me on the car.' Those who were known to have spoken to her truly of the method of payment for work done were refused further work or further credit by the shopkeeper. Clergy who had entertained her received bills for immediate payment of debts, under threat of legal proceedings. As car-drivers, boatmen, and others were all either servants of the shopkeepers or in their debt, it followed

that, when she needed means of conveyance, all with one consent made excuse.

We must be content with one extract further from this chapter of intense interest.

One evening, a few days before the date fixed for the hearing of the first cases to be taken in Dungloe, I was alone in my sitting-room in the hotel, when I was informed that a gentleman wished to see me, and that he was one of the local magistrates. He was shown in, and in a melodramatic manner shut the door behind him and examined each window to see that the blinds were closely drawn. He then began to plead with me in impassioned tones, which became more and more embarrassing, that I should abandon the prosecution against his relative and fellow shopkeeper. He said he knew the evidence was so strong that the defendant could not escape conviction. In vain I asserted and re-asserted that I had no power, even if I desired, to stay proceedings, and with considerable difficulty I managed to terminate a most unpleasant scene and dismiss my visitor. A little later I was told that several women and girls were waiting to speak to me. I went down to see them, and, finding they were my witnesses, I led them up to my sitting-room. I found that a man was following them into the room, and when he entered I saw it was the aforesaid magistrate. He sat down and announced that he intended to remain and hear what the girls said. I, of course, objected, and requested him to leave. As he persistently refused, and as the girls were terrified and became hysterical, I went out, calling to the girls to follow me, but as they attempted to do so he sprang up, put his arm across the doorway, and flung the girls back into the room, shouting to me, 'You go to h——l,' and slammed the door in my face. Being outside on the landing and the girls shut in the room with the obstreperous magistrate, I was in a dilemma, and I dare not leave them with him, so I called over the balustrade for the landlord and returned to the room. The landlord, who was also clerk to the justices, came quickly and found the magistrate firmly seated and continuing a flow of objectionable language. At first magistrate and clerk engaged in an undignified wrangle over the situation, but finally the latter's strong warnings and forceful arm induced the former to withdraw, and the pair disappeared, leaving me to cope with the trembling girls. They promptly all took back their promise to appear as witnesses, and declared nothing would make them come to court. This incident was duly reported to the authorities, but the magistrate continued to sit on the bench and adjudicate during three successive prosecutions of his fellow tradesmen and friends. It was on one of these occasions that, before the Truck case came on, this same justice of the peace descended from bench to dock, and, after being convicted and fined for being drunk on licensed premises on Sunday, resumed his seat.

It seemed impossible to secure in Ireland, to its full extent, the amendment that the inspectors sought. The chapter ends, however, with this much of comfort: 'The Truck system had received a serious check from the publicity given to it, and workers, emboldened to ask for money payment, got it.'

It is pleasant to leave the difficulties of Ireland and go with the inspector to the Shetland Islands in the interest of the herring girls. The Scotch curers, with the women and girls from the Hebrides and the Highlands, follow the herring round the coast, from the far north, in the early summer, to Yarmouth and Lowestoft, until the curing season ends before Christmas. The Scotch lassies in hundreds, brave and bonnie, with deft fingers, carried out their task of gutting the herring on plots adjoining the landing-places of the boats, and were lodged on the ground in huts. Immediately the fish were landed, work would commence gutting the fish, and often continue late into the night. The busy workers snatched a few moments for meals, and relieved each other for a few hours' rest, while the work went on unceasingly. The constant strain for seven or eight months made a heavy demand even on the robust Scotch girls, and its effects were seen in the bleak, cold days in Yarmouth and Lowestoft. In 1913 an endeavour was made to regulate the hours and conditions by an agreement with the employers. Employers and the girls were invited personally to a conference.

Miss Squire's story reveals her tact and energy, and most of all, perhaps, her general influence.

The day being Sunday, I spent many delightful hours among the herring girls, talking with those who were resting in their huts, or working at the gutting-troughs or 'farlanes.' I also met the curers at the quay or in the market, where they congregated. A personal invitation to each and all to attend the conferences, with the opportunity this afforded for sounding both sides as to their views, had more effect in creating interest than the printed notices and agenda which we had officially circulated. The idea of attending a conference to meet their employers was entirely new to the girls, and filled them

with terror, more especially when they grasped the revolutionary suggestion that they should take part in the discussion and express their own views. Gradually, as the idea sank in, they became quite eager, but when the eventful day came I learnt in time that many were faint-hearted and dared not come, so I chartered large vehicles of a strange description and drove round to their hut encampments, and collected them into the town. To add to my difficulty many were in bed, thinking in this way to escape me should I send for them, but I encouraged them to make a rapid toilet, at which I assisted, and so, by a series of journeys, a substantial third party to the conference was secured. When the time came the girls voiced their wishes and supported their case bravely, and we of the Factory Department who presided had the satisfaction, both at Lerwick and at the other centres, of securing an agreement. This restricted the hours within reasonable limits, and also secured certain sanitary and other improvements for the health and welfare of the workers.

It is a far cry from the gutting girls of Shetland to the mines of West Cornwall. The introduction of the rock-drill in the mines caused a fine dust that was the cause of severe injury to the lungs. In house after house were found men in the grip of this most distressing disease, coughing out their lives. The death-rate was out of all proportion to the population. In 1905, among other precautions, respirators were to be provided, which were more often in the pocket than on the mouth. The regulation required the use of a water spray to allay the fine dust, and the sprinkling of the floors of the workings.

The lady inspector goes to investigate the matter. In the dress of a miner, with the hard hat to protect the head from the fall of any stones, she goes down a depth of more than 3,000 feet—almost as deep as Snowdon is high—down in the cage for much of the way, warned not to raise head or hand, through the darkness. Then the candle, stuck with clay, was lighted in front of the hard hat, so as to leave the hands free. One foot after another felt for the next rung of the ladder, and with hands grasping its sides for dear life. Then she goes down grasping a rope hand over hand, slipping and sliding; breathless and dusty and hand-sore she reaches the bottom.

'The heat was intense,' she writes. 'My clothing was saturated, and the men had discarded all but the minimum. No water was in use and no concern at its absence. The hose, when at last found, was without the necessary nozzle, and its length fell short of some feet from the point where the drill was in use. As drilling the rock overhead, the water directed upwards upon the drill poured down upon their shoulders, so that the men were reluctant to use it. When we emerged once more into the light of day, we were scarcely recognizable. If any one doubts that pit-head baths for miners in coal-mines or others are a necessity, let them descend into a mine and assurance will inevitably result.'

We reluctantly conclude our notice of this book. We have thought it better to give at length some few of the incidents than to give a summary of its contents. There are a number of such stories of equal interest, and told in the same graphic style. We have to thank Miss Squire for a book that cannot fail to further the welfare of the workers in factory and workshop.

BASIL ST. CLEATHER.

JUGO-SLAV FRIENDSHIP WITH BULGARIA

LAST March the new Jugo-Slav Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister-Plenipotentiary, M. Liubomir Neshitch, presented his credentials to King Boris III of Bulgaria. In doing so, the Minister made a noble speech expressing his desire and purpose to work for better relations between the two Slavic neighbours Balkaniques. Perhaps the comments of an American who has resided in this peninsula for thirty-five years—including twenty-one in Macedonia—may not be valueless to the British public. For Jugo-Slavia to establish better, yea, friendly, yea, *cordially* friendly, relations with Bulgaria is 'as easy as rolling off a log,' in Yankee phrase. It simply needs a dose of the virus which cured Mr. Skadds, as will be made clear near the end of this article.

The chief hindrance to friendship is Jugo-Slavia's (more correctly Serbia's) treatment of the Bulgarian population of the southern part of her territory, commonly known as Macedonia. Having lived for twenty-one eventful years among that population in an occupation which called me to every corner of its territory, and into the regions surrounding it—Albania, Western Thrace, Bulgaria, Serbia, and the Albano-Serbian district north-west of Shar Planina then called 'Old Serbia'—naturally I have some knowledge of, and interest in, it. I still get occasional reports of conditions there through channels which need not be here described. Such reports necessarily are irregular, and often quite belated, but I share some of them with your readers.

A friend who fled from Serbian rule tells me that mass arrests sometimes occur. In 1928 about eight hundred people were arrested at one time from the Stroumitza villages. The prisoners were required to feed themselves, and to pay the Government from five to fifteen dinars a

night for sleeping in prison. When an amnesty finally was proclaimed, the officials reaped a rich harvest of bribes. Those amnestied did not actually get out of prison till ninety-five per cent. of them had bribed jailers and other officials to the extent of from two to forty pounds each. Some wealthy men have lain in prison until they obtained release with much larger sums than these.

It is well known that lists of Serbian names have been posted on the church doors in Macedonia, from among which the people are commanded to select names when christening their children. It is not so well known that they dare not be found with Bulgarian books in their possession—a privilege of which the Turks never deprived them. Of course, the Bulgarians have been forced to change their name endings from ‘off’ or ‘ov’ to ‘vitch.’ In this connexion the following serio-comic incident occurred. The authorities discovered that some people in the village of Smolari had not made the prescribed change. Hence all the male inhabitants large enough to work were rounded up one day beside a great heap of stones. Each was required to carry a stone across the road, and drop it with an emphatic ‘*vitch*,’ then go back and lift another, until all the stones had been carried across. When this was accomplished, the stones were returned to their original site, all to the dulcet tune of ‘*vitch*.’ In this valuable educational process a ten-hour day was spent under guard by people who had undervalued the euphony of ‘*vitch*.’

By request of Sir Harry Lamb, then Consul-General at Salonica, it was my privilege, during the first Balkan War, to distribute some hundreds of pounds among the Moslems of Serres, Stroumitza, and Radovishta, sent for their relief by Moslems in India. In one case I was greatly assisted by a Turk recommended to me by Moslems and Christians alike as worthy of confidence. Recently, I met him quite unexpectedly in a Sofia counting-house. On greeting him, and asking, ‘*Ne yaparsunuz bourada?*’ (‘What are you

doing here?'), I was rather startled to hear him give the standard Bulgarian refugee's answer, 'Waiting for emancipation of Macedonia.' In the ensuing conversation I asked him what he thought ought to be done about Macedonia. He said, 'It ought to be made autonomous, so that we, its natives, may manage our own affairs. If not, I should like it to be annexed to Bulgaria, because I find here that freedom of religion and of language that does not exist in Serbia.'

Of course, the Serbians claim that their country grants full religious liberty, but the claim is untrue. When they secured control of Monastir in 1916, by the valour of their British and French allies, they at once arrested the Bulgarian pastor of the local Protestant church, a native of the city and a non-combatant, and sent him to France as a prisoner of war. That church never has been allowed to resume its services, which used to be attended by over one hundred worshippers under the more tolerant rule of the Turks.

In Skoplie, a Serbian pastor was placed over the Protestant church; but was ordered to discontinue the services. After his departure the members tried to have worship by themselves in a private house, but were discovered and imprisoned for a month, and have not since attempted to practise the rites of their religion. The building in which they had worshipped for years under Turkish rule has been sold by the American Mission.

Protestant worship still is permitted in Radovishta, Stroumitza, and four of its villages, but under great restrictions. None but registered Protestant families may attend, and, in the case of mixed marriages, the ceremony must be performed by an Orthodox priest, even though all parties concerned may prefer a pastor. I am told that a priest entered the service at Koleshino village and struck some of the worshippers with a whip, saying, 'This Protestant heresy is no religion.' Perhaps it would be ungracious to remind Serbia that she was saved from being wiped off the map

largely by the blood of Protestant soldiers. Anyhow, this is her present treatment of Protestants.

We now come to the instructive story of 'The Inoculation of Mr. Skadds,' as I recall it from *McClure's Magazine* of years ago. Mr. S. was an American millionaire who built a splendid laboratory, and put in it a famous scientist to carry on original research for the benefit of mankind—and to perpetuate the name of Skadds. The scientist eventually developed a successful 'anti-peculation virus.' During an epidemic of small-pox, Mr. Skadds went to the laboratory to be vaccinated, and by mistake received a charge of the new virus. Soon after this, the gas company of which he was president held a meeting to consider how to deal with its enormous profits so as to avert popular discontent. Mr. Skadds astounded his fellow directors by explaining to them smilingly that a happy solution of the problem had occurred to him the previous night, a solution so simple he wondered they had not hit on it before. It was—to *reduce the price of gas to the consumer*. This would prevent surplus profits and please everybody! It is needless to describe the ensuing uproar and battle among the directors, and the final victory of the now honest Mr. Skadds. The point is that Mr. Skadds's inoculation led him to advocate the simple expedient of doing as one would be done by. And this is how it would be 'easy as rolling off a log' for Jugo-Slavia to make friends with Bulgaria.

At one time the Serbians were very discontented with Austria's treatment of the Serbian-speaking people under her rule. Why do they wonder that Bulgaria is discontented with their treatment of the Bulgarian-speaking people under their rule? Then why not cease to treat them so? Serbia professes to live in constant fear of invasion by insurgent bands from Bulgaria, the involuntary immigrants from Macedonia having time on their hands for such adventures. In any case, rather disagreeable incidents happen. Bulgarians in Serbia engage in revolutionary plots and

have to be shot, and such-like. On her side, Serbia harbours Bulgarian Communist refugees, arms them and permits them to cross her neighbour's boundary, attack villages, kill, and burn. This naturally causes irritation and intensifies hatred.

Are not peace and contentment better than oppression, strife, and anxiety? Why should not Juvo-Slavia cut down her army, save expense, and gain tranquillity by making the Macedonians happy and winning Bulgaria as an enthusiastic ally?

In order to be sure of my ground, I have asked some of the men in position to speak most authoritatively for the Macedonians in Bulgaria exactly what would satisfy them. They assured me that they would be content with Macedonian autonomy, involving equal rights for all, *under Jugo-Slav hegemony*. It does not seem an exorbitant request. Why should not Jugo-Slavia create a real 'Southern Slavia' by making Macedonia an autonomous member of her Federation, and by inviting Bulgaria herself to join it on an equality with Croatians, Slovenes, Serbians, &c.? Why not follow Mr. Skadds's simple remedy of doing justice? Is it not worth while to make an end of wearisome strife and bitterness, and thus to contribute wonderfully towards enduring peace for mankind? It's up to Jugo-Slavia, and as 'easy as rolling off a log.'

EDWARD B. HASKELL.

Sofia, Bulgaria.

DEAN HUTTON ON JOHN WESLEY

THE Dean of Winchester has written a short life of John Wesley for Macmillan's Great English Churchmen Series which will be read with interest far and wide. He wins our sympathy by the first paragraph of his Preface: 'Though there have been among English religious leaders some who were certainly wiser, and perhaps better, men, there has never been one who made so great a mark upon the history of the country, and it may be, even more, beyond its shores, as did John Wesley. Anselm was a much greater man, Joseph Butler a much wiser, Matthew Parker was much more prudent, much more statesman-like, there was more of the pure saint in Edward Pusey and John Keble and Richard Meux Benson; but none of them, it is safe to say, moved more men and women to a life of holiness and philanthropy.'

Dr. Hutton endorses Lecky's verdict that Methodism had a prominent place among the influences that saved this country from the revolutionary spirit which laid France in ruins. The sentimentalism 'of the French reformers was diverted by his preaching, and by his disciples, into another channel; and if the issue in practical philanthropy was delayed, it eventually became more intense and more secure.' Wesley's teaching also brought about 'the defeat of Calvinism. The history of England proves the success of the smashing blows which Wesley dealt against Calvinism and on behalf of spiritual and moral emancipation.'

The dean has availed himself of the best sources of information. Chiefest by far among Wesley's own writings, he places 'the wonderful *Journal*, almost the most remarkable autobiography ever written. The edition of Nehemiah Curnock (8 vols., Epworth Press) is a splendid monument of piety,' 'a classic and final edition.' He has

also used 'the most recent and comprehensive studies by Dr. John Simon.'

We do not think the twentieth century can regard Wesley as 'obscurely born and imperfectly educated.' On his mother's side he was descended from the Earls of Anglesea, whilst Charterhouse and Oxford did their utmost for his training, as the dean bears witness : 'A scholar he certainly was, of the eighteenth-century type, with the full qualifications of the Fellow of a College of the period.'

Dr. Hutton says there is a very considerable body of quite independent and unprejudiced opinion which would pronounce Wesley to be the hero or the type of the eighteenth century. 'His characteristics, in narrowness as well as in breadth, are certainly those of his own age, raised again and again to a higher power ; of the best side of the eighteenth century he is certainly typical. He was indeed an Organizer of Victory, and, one might say, the first of the Benevolent Despots. And when it comes to the nice calculation of greatness by its influence on mankind, what can discount the fame of one who transformed the religion of a race, which is spreading—and his influence with it—over the whole world ? Wesley's influence is as wide and as enduring as Napoleon's, and more permanent than Bismarck's. A typical writer of Victorian England said that "the pen is mightier than the sword," and with Wesley the influence of the voice, precarious and ephemeral as it seems, was added to the indomitable force of the character. He spoke, and believed his words were literature and life. This does not mean that Europe will ever think Wesley so great a man as Napoleon, or Englishmen justly admire him so much as the younger Pitt. But it means that his greatness is incontestable and his influence still unimpaired.'

The Rector of Epworth is described as 'a very candid, simple-minded, strenuous person ; the worthy father of so illustrious a son.' He never appears nobler, we may add, than in his counsels to his sons at Oxford in the days of the

Holy Club. Susanna Wesley was 'a woman of very great strength and beauty of character.' She was her son's wise and loving adviser through the formative years of his life, and 'it might be possible to trace in him after that date a less well-regulated mind.' We do not find any such traces ourselves. The critical events of the conversion, the open-air preaching, the formation of the Society, the use of lay preachers, and the extension of the work to the North of England, all occurred before her death, and for forty years afterwards Wesley worked on the same lines, until 1784 brought the Deed of Declaration and the Ordinations for America. The meaning of Horace Walpole's well-known criticism of Wesley's preaching 'certainly is that he was a popular preacher of the highest class.' The lives of his devoted lay preachers are 'deeply touching; no mission to the heathen reveals more truly the turning of men from the power of Satan unto God. And, under Him, it was the absolute sincerity and the glowing eloquence of Wesley which achieved this.' Tillotson's sermons sold in large and repeated editions, 'but (as was said of a nineteenth-century preacher) they could not convert a tom-tit. Wesley's sermons came straight from his heart, as well as from his sound, strong head, and, if they did not stir the uneducated as did Whitefield's, they brought forth in abundance, among every class, the fruit of good living. . . . The effect of each when they were delivered was extraordinary; instructive, convincing, converting, are words which their hearers must often have applied to them. And even when read to-day, when taste has changed so completely, Wesley's appeals have often a most impressive force. They are so obviously sincere, so heartfelt, so plainly are they full of the love of God and the love of man. They show an intimate knowledge of human nature, perhaps more often on its dark than on its bright side, and a knowledge most intimate of temptation, varied and seductive. Indeed, when one reads them again it is very difficult to criticize them. At first, it

may have been felt, they are too long, and they are artificial. But, as for length, the people hung on his words, they loved to have it so. If the hour-glass had still been in fashion, his hearers would often have begged him to turn it. And as for artifice, Wesley certainly knew how to win over a crowd, how to arrest attention and to retain it; yet very likely he would have said, "Sir, I swear I use no art at all," if one had questioned him; for always, one feels certain, he spoke from his heart.'

The dean feels that Wesley had nearly all the qualities of a perfect letter-writer. 'He wrote clearly, simply, quickly, pungently, with transparent sincerity, and he hardly ever used two words where one would do.' Their vivacity makes the letters immortal. Good use is made of Dr. Eayrs's 'valuable collection' of the letters.

Wesley's relations to the Church of England are naturally discussed at length. The dean says 'that eminent Methodist, the late Dr. Rigg, went so far as to declare that "the Society, as such, was in no sense or degree any part or any dependency of" the Church of England, and that "it had no organic connexion with it whatever." In this strange statement he must have forgotten that the original Methodists professed to govern themselves entirely by the rules of the Church.' But is not Dr. Rigg right? What bishop had any jurisdiction over the Societies? No one save the Wesleys drew up the rules, or had power to admit or exclude from membership. Nor can we admit that Wesley was 'as impetuous and inconsistent as he was enthusiastic and sincere.' His real determination was that the work of grace to which he had devoted his whole life, and which he had watched expanding so wonderfully for more than half a century, should not come to an end after his death. His Deed of 1784 was necessary to give Methodism a continued existence after his death, under the direction of a legal Conference; his ordinations were essential if the Methodists of America were to have the sacraments. He made provision for these events out

of no feeling of hostility to the Church of England ; they did not shut the door against that co-operation and closer union which he had laboured all his life to bring about. He hoped it might come, but he took care that, whether it came or not, the work should go on. That was the real purpose of the Deed of Declaration. Great though Bishop Butler was, he failed to see in 1739 that a new ally had been raised up to reach the neglected masses of his own diocese, and Wesley's mouth would have been closed at Bristol and Kingswood had the evangelist yielded to Butler's prohibition. Dr. Hutton says that in 1784 there were no outward signs of any decay of Wesley's mental powers, ' unless his acceptance of—what was to him—an entirely new theory of the ministry be accepted as such.' But Wesley's letter to his brother in 1785 explicitly states that he was acting on no new theory, but that for many years he had firmly believed himself to be a scriptural *ἐπίσκοπος* as much as any man in England or in Europe. He had refrained from exercising that power until the crying necessities of his people in America forced such action upon him. He was neither impetuous nor inconsistent, but was acting on the principle which had always guided him—that nothing must stand in the way of the progress of the work of God. It was still open to the rulers of the Church of England to make overtures to Methodism which would have linked it closely to that Church as a mighty evangelistic force. Dr. Rigg saw no reason why Methodism might not have been a nursery of effective preachers for the Church of England, and why some of them might not have been ordained and thus become ministers of the Church of England as well as Methodist preachers. The opportunity was lost, and one might argue that Providence pointed out a better road when Methodism was left free to work out its world-wide destiny.

Dean Hutton regrets that Wesley did not take to heart Dr. Potter's advice : ' If you desire to be extensively useful,

do not spend your time and strength in contending for or against such things as are of a disputable nature; but in testifying against open notorious vice, and in promoting real essential holiness.' Wesley never failed to act on that advice, however. The one exception was, perhaps, when he felt compelled to preach his sermon on Free Grace, and Dr. Hutton himself pays tribute to the service he thus rendered on behalf of spiritual and moral emancipation. His letter to one of his preachers in 1747 shows how true he was to Dr. Potter's counsel: 'In public speaking speak not one word against opinions of any kind. We are not to fight against notions, but sins. Least of all should I advise you once to open your lips against *predestination*. It would do more mischief than you are aware of. Keep to our one point, present inward salvation by faith, by the divine evidence of sins forgiven.'

High tribute is paid to the *Journal*, which, 'for all its immense length, is immortal; side by side in date it stands with Walpole's Letters, in form not dissimilar, but in content and spirit how widely different. It possesses two remarkable merits. First, it is an absolutely truthful revelation of the man, in his sincerity, devotion, self-confidence, and vanity. And secondly, it is written in a style which is almost like John Henry Newman's in its approach to the perfection of limpid and beautiful English. He can be gentle and soothing; he can be savage and biting; he can be laborious and meticulous; but hardly ever does he fail to be perfectly direct, plain, emphatic, and vigorous. The force of his writing is due to the fact that it was always natural. When one reads what he has written, it is very difficult to believe that he ever blotted a line. And yet he is hardly ever verbose.' Wesley's literary 'output was stupendous. At least four hundred publications are authentically credited to his pen. He was not only a considerable writer himself, but he was a practised and unblushing book-maker. He was, in fact, a pioneer in

popular education, the precursor of Lord Brougham and the pedants whom Thomas Love Peacock derided. He had the audacity to abridge Bunyan and Milton and George Herbert; he regarded anybody else's text as the legitimate field for his improving genius. He set to work to drive out the old chap-books by his new tracts, which, as he says, were generally sold at a penny a piece.'

We do not find proof of Wesley's 'usual arrogance' in selecting a hundred out of a hundred and seventy-nine preachers for the Deed of 1784. He chose the men whom he thought most suitable, and when the choice was criticized he replied, 'I did my best; if I did wrong, it was not the error of my will, but of my judgement.'

Despite such limitations, the biography is a study of Wesley for which all Methodists will be grateful. Its closing paragraphs show how he revived the passion of English priests for the poor. New life was put into their work by his fervour. No one can say that the idea of a Christian society was ever forgotten by Wesley or the Methodists, 'but the indirect influence of Wesley was almost as great outside as within the sphere of pure religion. At a time when all Europe was disturbed, when politics seemed to be the realization of a volcano, the fact that men's thoughts in England were turned to the things of God and the soul preserved the country from any share in the foreign revolution. It was Wesley's influence which made men feel that the things of the soul were paramount, and social and political conditions only secondary.' Methodism, the dean adds, awoke a new spirit in the Church of England. 'The influence of Wesley, indeed, even within the Church of England, radiates far and wide to-day. And the works of the separated body which he so unwillingly founded are known and read of all men.'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

INDIVIDUALITY, PERSONALITY, AND GOD

THE dominating influence to-day in philosophical speculation is the mathematical tendency. Thinkers like Professors A. N. Whitehead, L. L. Morgan, and S. Alexander are all agreed upon the fact that we must 'start with the physical.' But reflection upon the physical has led beyond its limitations to the amazing speculations of modern mathematical physicists. Euclidean three-dimensional space has now been substituted by space of a many-dimensional order.¹ The work, then, of such mathematicians and physicists as that of Professor A. N. Whitehead throws distinct light upon the metaphysical relationships existing between all forms of personality. Space, for Whitehead, cannot be considered as the sum of all points, and time cannot be conceived merely as the sum of all instants, for a point must be a local event and an instant a slab of duration.² To regard points and instants in this way on Whitehead's general position would be to treat them in abstraction, for to him parts of wholes are abstractions. What is meant by the shape of a thing for Whitehead is that it is of such a character as to give a series of aspects, and it may be said, to supplement him, that the synthesis of aspects is the real shape. After all, can we imagine any sort of shape except local shape? Space and time are certainly patterns or modes of reality, and some of the events participating in these patterns are more permanent than others. In regard to the mind, however, Whitehead makes the explicit statement that its pattern endures. 'A mind is an enduring pattern.' There seems, however, to be some evasion due to the ambiguous use of words in Whitehead's writings in relation to what he means by an object. If an object is only the sum of the aspects of all other monads or elements in the universe, we must press for an answer—Is the object anything in itself? Whitehead, it seems to me, concedes that an object is something in itself existing somehow in its own right when he says 'The unity of mind is an enduring pattern.'³ This implies clearly that there is a persistent something which owns the aspects and which, therefore, as an enduring quality holds them together in unity. This side of Professor Whitehead's teaching has not been perhaps sufficiently stressed. It seems to me very much like Leibniz's general view. All aspects of all monads are within each monad; the macrocosm is in the microcosm; but, after all, they are never quite the same, for the microcosm has certainly some persistent quality, some distinguishing 'point of view' or characteristic, which enables it to reflect all other aspects of all the other monads in the universe. Rays of light do not reflect themselves;

¹ *Decline of the West*, pp. 82-4.

² *Concept of Nature*, Whitehead.

³ *Science and the Modern World*, Whitehead. This phrase frequently recurs.

they are reflected by an object, viz. a mirror. This, it seems to me, is what Leibniz means when he says, 'The monads have no windows.' He certainly does mean at least this much—that there is a measure of independence in the universe in the existence of every monad which is not to be annihilated by the infinity of its relationships, nor by the pre-established harmony. The 'enduring pattern' of Professor Whitehead seems to suggest that the element of permanence is the time factor; but, whatever it is, it must be regarded as that permanent plastic form which holds all the aspects in a co-ordinated whole, system, or organism. In other words, things and persons are not to be resolved into their manifold relationships. If Professor Whitehead's hypothesis about objects being the sum total of all the other aspects is logically worked out, you have the curious situation of a universe consisting of organisms which are aspects of other organisms, which are still further aspects of aspects, and so on *ad infinitum*. We must surely have something which *owns* aspects which is the object.

The theory of relativity, moreover, by merging time and space into space-time, has irreparably damaged the traditional notion of substance perhaps more than all the arguments of philosophers. 'Matter for common sense is something which persists in time and moves about in space. But, for modern relativity physics, this view is no longer tenable. A piece of matter has become, not a persistent thing with varying states, but a system of inter-related events. The old solidity is gone, and with it the characteristics that to the materialist made matter seem more real than fleeting thoughts.' This, no doubt, is perfectly true, but it should, in our view, be supplemented by emphasis being duly placed upon the *enduring quality of the mind*. Professor Whitehead, in emphasizing this enduring quality of the pattern called mind, as well as the enduring quality, more or less, of physical happenings or events, is agreeing with those philosophers who hold that *power to persist* is one of the real qualities of mind which, because of its higher or greater power of persistence, exalts minds over physical events.

The relations of mind and life were never known to be so complex and intricate as they are to-day. As civilized life advances, the complexity increases and the relationships grow. But we must lay stress, at the risk of repetition, upon the uniqueness of individuality—that which reflects aspects and enters into relationships. This is the veritable core of personality. I do not say that the argument here used for individuality proves immortality, but it makes for its intelligibility. The individuality of anything cannot be explained by attempts at scientific classification. This method ignores what is unique in each, and sees only what is common to both. As we rise in the scale of being, from the amoeba—which Professor J. A. Thomson says has a low order of individuality¹—to man, complexity of relationships become more pronounced, but *also individuality becomes more prominent*.

¹History of Materialism, Lange, Introduction. ²System of Animate Nature, p. 179.

Moreover, by the individuality of each monad I do not mean a fixed, unalterable centre. This individuality, as well as the relationships between monads, are in constant flux.¹ All things, from the lowest monads to the highest or dominant Monad, viz. God, are involved in internal structural change, but this process does not destroy its individuality. It means that it is a growing individuality, like a tree or a plant or an organism. It is still itself; it is still unique. That is to say, the individuality of each monad is an enduring and growing pattern. We may conclude, then, this point by saying that a special monad or personality is in some sense a unique quality, that if it be the result simply and solely of innumerable and incalculable aspects of all other monads, it is an abstraction and beyond our powers of determination; but, if we regard it rather as an individual living centre, whither rays of influence converge from all other monads, *making it itself and no other*, we have a view of personality that seems to harmonize with fact.

Personality, consisting, then, of a growing individuality which dominates its manifold relationships, organizing them into a unified system, stands out within the Absolute, and is not absorbed by it. It expands and grows as a living 'element' or 'member' within the whole. It is interesting to find Professor Bosanquet using both terms. However much, then, these personalities or monads overlap in interests, in the manifold social and economic relationships of life, these overlapping interests and cross-currents of influence but serve to emphasize the specific nature of each member. For if two persons think of the same object in precisely the same manner, and have the same general view of life, and even supposing (a highly improbable conjecture) that these views could be perfectly equated, they would still be each a separate focus of individual life and feeling, and would never be merged into each other. Similarly in our relationships with God, the Dominant Monad. Our communion with Him is the proof of our *existential distinctness*, and also of our real dependence upon Him, which enriches both in fellowship. It would seem, on our previous argument, that the Individuality of God is more pronounced than ours because of the greater number and complexity of His relationships. Neither ourselves nor God can be absorbed by each other. The formal separateness of personality, then, always remains, although content does overlap.

In any endeavour, then, to picture the relation of the Dominant Monad, or God, to all the other monads, two very important factors must be kept in mind. The first is that the Dominant Monad's activity is determined by His *Nature*—a point which is quite Spinozian—and also that His activity is never of such a character as will annihilate the spontaneous capacity of response in the other monads. Keeping these two points in mind, we may compare the relation of God to the universe, to that of the principle of life in the human body. This principle is immanent, functioning in all parts of the

¹ *Reality*, H. B. Streeter, pp. 87-9.

² *Value and Destiny*, B. Bosanquet, pp. 204, 298.

body, from the most complex and important—the brain, heart, and vital organs—to the nails of the hand and the hair of the head. These latter may represent the monads of the lowest order in the state of torpor, but they are never completely cut off from the life-principle. Then the life-principle itself, by stimulating the cells, causing them to divide and sub-divide, is itself strengthened, for these in turn contribute their portion to the life-principle. In this sense, it would seem that God is necessary to the world and the world necessary to God, as Hegel says. God is immanent in this sense, but He also is transcendent, by which I mean that He possesses those powers of control over the Absolute and that perfection of nature which are unshared. By transcendence I also mean that God has no equal, and that He functions in vital, sympathetic *rapprochement* with the hierarchy of monads over which He has control. The transcendence of God is not to be conceived of spacially, but is a transcendence of control, ethical quality, and spiritual perfection. The relation of God to the Absolute or to total existence may be thought of after the following analogy: 'As the religious experience of the highest possible saint is only part of his life, while the whole of that life is filled with religious emotion and motive, so is the relation of God with the Absolute.' If we admit that the dominating and regulating centre of the Absolute is God, we are saved from the deistic view of Aristotle and the seventeenth-century deists, who made immanence impossible, and also from that kind of pantheism which equates God with the Absolute.

E. G. BRAHAM.

DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER

'In the twentieth century a saint must also be a hero, and Albert Schweitzer is both,' says Professor Alfred von Martin in a sympathetic appreciation of the scholar-physician contributed to *Una Sancta*, the new German quarterly of which he is the able and catholic-spirited editor. His sources of information include the German edition^a of *On the Edge of the Præaeval Forest*, now in its forty-third thousand; the untranslated writings^b of Schweitzer, especially *Reminiscences of my Childhood and Youth* and *Messages from Lambarene*, the second volume of which has recently been issued. Frequent reference is also made to the first published life^c of Schweitzer; a psychological study abounding, it is said, in technical phraseology, and yet 'from its theorizings an imposing personality emerges.' The widespread interest in Schweitzer and his work in Central Africa will be greatly increased by this instructive account of his romantic career. Recently the University of Prague has expressed a wish to welcome him to Europe by conferring on him an honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Schweitzer, when he came of age, made a solemn vow that, until he was thirty, he would devote himself to his pastoral duties, to

^a *God and the Absolute*, T. G. Dunning, p. 259. ^b *Zwischen Wasser und Urwald*.

^c *Aus meiner Kindheit und Jugendzeit; Mitteilungen aus Lambarene*.

^d *Albert Schweitzer: sein Werk und seine Weltanschauung*, von Oskar Kraus.

medicine, and to music; and that, when he had attained some proficiency in science and in art, he would begin a life of active service. Before he was twenty-eight, five of his works were published, and his biographer says that they 'mark epochs respectively in the study of Kant, Jesus, and Bach.' During this period he became famous as an interpreter of Bach's music on the organ and as 'a practical organ-builder with original ideas.' Two years after graduating as M.D. this versatile scholar, musician, and physician began the healing ministry which has made him known as the Good Samaritan of Central Africa, and already, in fulfilment of his vow, fourteen years have been spent in self-sacrificing toil among the people of the Ogowé.

Quotations are given which show that Schweitzer's studies in philosophy had failed to convince him that 'God, freedom, and immortality' were, as Kant maintained, postulates of the practical reason. In philosophical theism he found 'no anchorage for faith in a divine plan in the universe.' Indeed, he acknowledges an inner conflict between pantheism and theism. Nevertheless, he confidently (*mit Zuversicht*) believed in a divine purpose that he could not prove; but his faith in a personal God, whose will was for him decisive, rested upon 'an inner and immediate mystical experience.' Moreover his historical investigation¹ of Christological problems in *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, notwithstanding the conspicuous merit of that work, led to the pathetic conclusion that 'the historical Jesus must be, for our time, a stranger and an enigma.' Nevertheless, the all-constraining motive which inspires and rules his life is independent of all theories. It is clearly expressed in his own words, written in his youth: 'Gradually I came to understand that Jesus taught we must not live to ourselves.' Dr. Kraus has good reason to say: 'Undoubtedly his decision to devote his life to healing the sick may be traced to the teaching and example of Jesus. . . . Jesus is for him an authority, rather in the realm of the will than in the sphere of the intellect. . . . Schweitzer's life is a new imitation of Christ, for he takes up the cross to expiate the sins of the Western world.' He desires to be nothing but a Christian who bears his cross, 'not because he knows or hopes this or that, but because he is conscious of an unconditional *must*, and therefore obeys without questioning.' It is held, however, to be a misunderstanding of Schweitzer when he is called a new Robinson Crusoe, or even a new Rousseau, 'fleeing to the loneliness of Nature'; in his self-denying service the spirit of the gospel shines in such purity and strength that from the heart of Africa it is reflected back to 'heathen Europe.' To Professor von Martin's searching words may be added the appeal which this life makes to those who avow a robust faith: 'What do ye extra?' (Matt. v. 47).

Speaking as a philanthropist, Schweitzer considers that the nineteenth century is 'an intermezzo,' and regards the eighteenth century as 'the greatest epoch in the history of civilization.' He has sympathy with its ethical outlook, and claims that the perfecting of the

¹ Von Reimarus zu Wrede.

free personality is the necessary basis of the voluntary consecration of the individual to a life of service. But 'only the religion of Jesus furnishes the incentive to love of one's neighbour; the ethics of the ancient world lead only to contemplative resignation, or to egoism.' Wonder has been expressed that Schweitzer, who is 'the opposite of a rationalist,' should rate so highly the period which is often called 'the era of rationalism.' The explanation given is that when he thinks of the eighteenth century he is thinking of the century of Bach, whom he regarded as 'the embodiment of German mysticism.' Though he himself holds that all thought ultimately leads to mysticism, his mysticism is not contemplative quietism; 'the vision prompts to immediate action.'

On account of his love for animals and plants, Schweitzer is described as 'a modern St. Francis.' As a child he added to his evening prayer a petition for 'everything that has breath'; as a man he spared the lives of mouse and crocodile, astonished the Africans by scarcely ever using his gun, was reluctant to pluck flowers, and would 'rather sit in darkness than entice insects to their death by lighting a lamp.' Believing that 'culture does not begin with reading or writing, but with the work of the hands,' he was first a builder of organs and afterwards a builder of houses; consistently with both his own belief and practice, he lays chief stress, in the education of Africans, upon religious instruction, moral training, and manual labour.

As regards Schweitzer's attitude to the Confessions, it is granted that 'an atmosphere of liberal Protestantism' pervades his book, *Kulturphilosophie*; but the man is held to be greater than his book, and striking instances are given of his catholicity of spirit. In his reminiscences he writes, 'As a child it seemed to me delightful that, in our village, Catholics and Protestants held their services in the same church,' and he refers to this as 'a symbol that Confessional differences are destined some day to vanish.' His experience in Africa has convinced him that the problem of different Churches is not solved even by friendly relations; 'it is competition that confuses the natives and injures the gospel.' As a doctor, frequently attending Roman Catholics, he has exceptional opportunities of forming the judgement which he thus expresses: 'If I were to define the difference between the two Missions, I should say that the Protestants aim at training Christian individuals, whilst the Catholics have especially in view the founding of a Church.' Professor von Martin notes that Schweitzer propounds no theory as to the proper ecclesiastical blending of the personal religion of the evangelical and the Church consciousness of the Catholic. The subject is considered, both at home and abroad, from the practical point of view. Probably to further questioning the answer would be given in words used in another connexion: 'I am just as little able to formulate rules as I am incompetent to say when a musician should obey the traditional laws of harmony, and when he should follow the spirit of music which is above all laws.'

One of Schweitzer's sayings is that 'in the idealism of youth the truth is seen,' and he may be described as 'one who strives in thought and feeling to remain youthful.' In one of his messages from Lambarene he expresses his wonder as to 'where we get courage for our work,' and confesses that 'the enterprise is much greater than he contemplated.' The writer of this admirable article truly says: 'Behind this man and his faith—even though he is not always conscious of it—there stands always the Higher Presence from whom all power proceeds.'

J. G. TASKER.

THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER

A WORLD Conference on Faith and Order is to meet at Lausanne from August 8 to 21, 1927. This is an event which should evoke the prayerful interest of all the Churches. The movement is one which originated in the United States in the early years of the present century. Its object is the reunion of Christendom. The failure of the Lambeth proposals of 1920 has perhaps engendered a mood of pessimism in reference to such projects. It is felt that no good purpose is served by talk when the discussions of the last few years have already proved that the obstacles to reunion are, for the present at any rate, insuperable. But the committee which is arranging for the Lausanne Conference is under no illusions. If union is, at the moment, impracticable, there is still room for much to be done to promote the spirit of *unity* among the different Churches of Christendom. There are many misunderstandings to be removed, and there is much that we can usefully learn concerning one another. It may be, too, that, in the course of the discussions, possibilities of co-operation may emerge. Practically every Church in Christendom will be represented at the Conference, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, whose watchword is still union by absorption. The organizers of the Conference are to be congratulated on having secured a representation of the Greek Orthodox Church (consisting of fourteen autonomous Churches). It is doubtful whether British Churches take their Eastern brethren sufficiently into account in estimating the Christian forces which are at work in the world. The Eastern Church holds a strategic position on the confines of Europe and Asia. She has kept the light of Christian truth burning in Islamic lands, and her children have nobly borne persecution and martyrdom. Throughout the long centuries she has 'kept the faith.' She has precious treasures of devotion and mysticism to offer to the West. But, on the other hand, she is conscious that she, on her part, has much to learn from the West. Hitherto she has neglected to explore the ethical and social implications of the gospel, and has been somewhat lacking in missionary enterprise. Now she is encouraging her children to give themselves to Bible study and to investigate the practical, social, and evangelistic activities of the Western Churches. If the Lausanne Conference can bring the Greek Church

into line with the Protestant Churches of the West in their Christian social and missionary enterprises, a new day will dawn for the whole Church, and vast possibilities of Christian evangelization will open out for Asia. Such a re-orientation of the forces of Christendom would mean far more for the Kingdom of God than any external union of organizations.

H. MALDWYN HUGHES,

WESLEY THE MASTER-BUILDER

DR. SIMON'S lifelong study of the Evangelical Revival is bearing fruit in what the Dean of Winchester describes as 'the most recent and comprehensive studies' of Wesley's life and times. Dr. Hutton refers to the three volumes already published, and adds, 'Happily his work is not yet complete.' It has come a stage nearer that goal by the issue from the Epworth Press of a fourth volume: *John Wesley the Master-Builder*. The story opens with 1757, when Charles Wesley largely discontinued his itinerancy. Bristol gained much by his long residence there, but the burden that lay on his brother's shoulders was made heavier. Wesley estimated his Sunday work in London, with its large sacramental services, as equal to preaching eight sermons. His relief was great when John Fletcher hurried, on March 18, from Whitehall, where he had just been ordained, to West Street. The *Journal* has a jubilant ring: 'How wonderful are the ways of God! When my bodily strength failed, and no clergyman in England was able and willing to assist me, He sent me help from the mountains of Switzerland! And a help-meet for me in every respect. Where could I have found such another?' The work was widening out in every direction. On Easter Monday he was left alone to conduct a Covenant Service at Spitalfields, which began at five in the evening and lasted till after ten. Between seven and eight he was scarcely able to walk or speak, but he 'looked up and received strength,' till at half-past nine 'God broke in mightily upon the congregation.' Wesley returned to the Foundery 'no more tired than at ten in the morning.' Dr. Simon reminds us that as Wesley rode through England that summer the Seven Years War was raging. He had always loved soldiers and sailors. 'He was often indebted to soldiers for protection against mobs, and for the help they gave him in his evangelizing work. In the "first race" of Methodist preachers the names of several soldiers will be found.' He was quick to notice any uniform in his congregations, and gratefully recognizes the service which old army men did in towns and villages where they settled. Amid the unceasing toil of 1757, Wesley had many anxieties as to how his preachers' wives could be supported. John Nelson tells Charles Wesley in March 1758 that his family had not one shilling a week to find meat and clothes, so that he was going to hew stone again. 'O sir, pray for me that I faint not at last. This keeps my head above water, to see that God continues to convert sinners by my word, and that so many finish their course with joy. So that

I think He will either provide or take us to Himself.' Such words show that Wesley's preachers were as heroic as their leader. Dr. Simon takes us behind the scenes where the doctrine of entire sanctification was occupying much thought, and shows how the question of the administration of the sacraments made Charles Wesley write to his brother, 'We are come to the Rubicon. Shall we pass, or shall we not?' Three of the preachers had given the Sacrament, 'without any ordination, and without acquainting us (or even yourself) of it beforehand.' That crisis was safely passed, but the strain on Wesley must have been severe. Other troubles were coming. At the close of 1762 Wesley describes it as 'a year of uncommon trials and uncommon blessings.' The next year brought serious losses in London, due to George Bell's fanaticism. Thomas Maxfield, one of the first lay preachers, also left Wesley, and took away the chapel at Snowsfields, so that Wesley had to build a new one there in 1768.

Dr. Simon gives special attention to the introduction of Methodism into the American colonies. Philip Embury, who had come from the Palatine settlement in Ireland, preached his first sermon in his house at New York about October 1766. The little company found a strong helper in Lieutenant Webb, who preached in his regimentals and nobly supported the work. Wesley sent two preachers to help them, and their brethren made a collection, at the Conference, of £50 for the new preaching-house, and gave the missionaries £20 for their passage. Webb had retired from the army with the full pay of a captain, and introduced Methodism into Philadelphia. Robert Strawbridge was also busy in Frederick County, and he and Webb became comrades in the introduction of Methodism into various towns. On November 18, 1771, Francis Asbury reached New York, and the Methodism of America gained a leader of never-failing good sense and indomitable purpose, who laid the foundation for its mighty progress.

Charles Wesley's removal from Bristol to Marylebone in 1771 brought much-needed relief to his brother. His parish was growing, and he moved about it with apostolic zeal. His Societies made constant demands upon him, but he was not merely an evangelist. He stood in the van of social reformers. In December 1772 he wrote to the papers ascribing the dearness of bread to the quantities of corn consumed in distilling. The dearness of pork, poultry, and eggs he attributed to the substitution of large farms under gentlemen farmers for the little farmers who used to send their produce to the markets continually. He says, 'In the same town where, within my memory, eggs were sold eight or ten a penny, they are now sold six or eight a groat.' It is a letter that makes one think, but its chief significance is the light that it throws on the man who wrote it. He was devoting himself to the salvation of England with energies that never flagged, but he was keenly alive to the needs of the poor, and lost no opportunity of promoting their well-being. That is Wesley the Master-Builder as Dr. Simon sets him forth, with a wealth of detail that gives living interest to his new masterpiece.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The Doctrine of Christian Perfection. By Harold W. Perkins, B.A., D.D. (Epworth Press. 8s. 6d. net.)

THIS admirable treatise is a genuine and valuable contribution to theological literature. It meets a definite need which has not been met before. Hitherto a theological reader, seeking an interpretation of the goal of the Christian experience in terms of Perfection, has had to pursue his subject through devious bypaths within a labyrinth of general theological systems. No monograph was available dealing with the exegetical, historical, and experimental aspects of the subject itself. Dr. Perkins has given himself to the necessary research work with scholarly insight and precision. He now presents an able interpretation of the subject, in skilfully-arranged perspective and with balanced judgement, that will set this essential Christian truth in its true place in the thought and devotion of the Church. Expositions of 'Holiness' and 'Perfection' have frequently suffered from an excess of pure Mysticism; and ideas of Christian sanctity have been submerged in the depths of emotion or have vanished in the haze of pantheistic speculation. In Dr. Perkins's discussion, whilst devout readers will instinctively discern the glow of a reverent spirit, the sanity and lucidity of a careful Christian thinker prevail. The subject is considered in the setting of philosophical implications and of psychological and critical inquiries in which Christian teaching found its original expression, and in which also it must needs be formulated afresh for our own as for preceding generations of Christian believers. Ideas of 'Perfection' in the Old Testament, for instance, have a significance which is not that which they carry in the New Testament. These differences are treated with wise discrimination, not according to the value of isolated texts, but in harmony with the evangelical message enshrined in biblical teaching as a whole. An interesting chapter on 'Influences Outside Christianity which have Affected the Conception of Christian Perfection' provides 'atmosphere' for an important summary of 'Patristic Ideas of Perfection.' And when we remember that John Wesley acknowledges that it was through reading one of the books of the *Stromateis* of Clement of Alexandria that he was led to interpret Christian Perfection in terms of Perfect Love, we appreciate the place the distinctive Methodist doctrine has in the thought of the Catholic Church. Indeed, it is the conclusion that Dr. Perkins reaches by working over his sources—Roman, Mystical, Protestant, ancient and modern—with historical impartiality and frank independence, that the attainment of Christian

Perfection finds its best and most satisfying expression as 'Perfect Love,' that is the outstanding feature of this fine essay. It has won for the author his doctor's degree in the University of London. Whilst Methodists will read it with peculiar and pardonable joy, it will be welcomed by thinkers and teachers in all the Churches as a recognized and authoritative standard for the history and interpretation of the Christian ideal for social as well as for individual religion.

Christianity According to St. Paul. By C. A. Anderson Scott, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 12s. 6d. net.)

St. Paul's writings were for at least four centuries regarded as the sheet-anchor of Protestantism. Now an influential school of thought claims him as the author of 'sacramentarian' Christianity, and the only begetter of Catholicism. Dr. Scott here sets forth the apostles' conception of Christianity, which is best studied under the aspect of salvation. The Jewish element greatly preponderates in his letters; the Hellenic element, so far as it is present at all, is not central, but superficial. References to features of Greek life are, on the whole, perfunctory; those to the characteristics of Judaism are enthusiastic. Dr. Scott thinks we cannot exclude the possibility that Saul may have seen Christ crucified. His position as a rising member of the Pharisaic party, and as a member of the Sanhedrin, points to a long residence in Jerusalem before the death of Stephen. Harnack places his conversion within twelve or eighteen months after the Crucifixion. He shows unexpected knowledge of the impression made by Jesus on those who knew Him. He refers to His grace, His obedience, His endurance, His purity. Salvation is really the most comprehensive term for what he found in Christ. 'It covers the initial experience, the present status, and the future consummation of those who are Christians.' It embraces Redemption, Justification, Salvation, and all the other great topics with which we are familiar. Dr. Scott draws out St. Paul's teaching on each of these subjects in a very impressive way. The deliverance from bondage to Spirit-forces hostile to man and to God is illustrated by Schweitzer's experience of negro fear of nature-spirits and ancestral ghosts. In Gal. iv. 3 St. Paul 'distinctly ranges his fellow countrymen, and in some sense himself, among those who, when they were "not yet of age," had been "in thralldom under the spirit-forces of the world."' The apostle's relation to the mystery-religions is of secondary importance. If there was any such relation, it did not affect the exposition of his theory. To him the value of baptism and the Eucharist was 'to express, confirm, and maintain a relation which was already established by faith, not to establish or nourish that relation *ex opere operato*.' The chapter on the Author and Perfecter of Salvation shows that St. Paul's recognition of Jesus as Messiah did nothing to modify his conviction that He was full partaker of the nature common

to man. His use of the title 'Lord' is very significant. It involved a claim of universal dominion for Christ over 'things in the heavens, things on the earth, and things under the earth.' For St. Paul, Christianity was 'a life, which springs up in men in response to the approach of God in Christ. It was life to God and in God, a life of freedom, of sonship, and of ethical aspiration and achievement, life beyond the reach of death.' Students of St. Paul's teaching will find great riches in this volume.

Essays in Christian Politics and Kindred Subjects. By William Temple, Bishop of Manchester. (Longmans & Co. 7s. 6d. net.)

Most of these essays appeared in *The Pilgrim*, of which Dr. Temple was editor. They are supplemented by four delivered to the Manchester Diocesan Conference and a sermon, 'The Light of Life,' preached before the University of Cambridge. Each of the fourteen essays has much food for thinkers. That on 'Fellowship' regards it as a partnership in devotion to a great cause. 'All true fellowship is Fellowship of the Holy Ghost. In science, in art, in every effort towards good life, He is at work, drawing men into fellowship. But His own proper home is the Church of Christ, which exists to be the perfect fellowship.' 'Democracy' was one of a Copeck series of *Present-Day Papers*, and has a strong and much-needed message. 'Nothing in democracy itself needs to be changed in the process of its spiritualization; but very much in most democrats must be changed.' The Miscellaneous Essays include, 'Christianity and Marriage'; 'Gambling and Ethics'; 'Coué and St. Paul'; 'St. Joan, Shakespeare, and Bernard Shaw'; and 'The Resources of Literature.' They are contributions to sober thinking on questions of living interest, whilst the diocesan addresses on 'Tradition and Modernism'; 'The Ministry of Healing'; 'The Vocation and Destiny of the Church of England,' and 'The Obligation of Worship,' discuss subjects that concern all Christian thinkers. The contents of the volume are varied, but all are important and much alive.

The First Draft of St. Luke's Gospel. By Vincent Taylor, Ph.D., D.D. (S.P.C.K. 1s.)

Dr. Selwyn's Preface brings out the interest and importance of this attempt to present the first draft of St. Luke's Gospel. He prefers Canon Streeter's opinion that it was written during St. Paul's two years at Caesarea (A.D. 57-9), instead of Dr. Taylor's view that it was prepared in Rome about A.D. 66, but he thinks that Dr. Taylor is more probably correct when he argues that the draft was never published, because of its incompleteness. The Third Gospel could not be given to the world till it could be filled out by the aid of St. Mark and the birth stories of the first and second chapters. The text is here left to speak for itself, without comment, beyond a few

notes which indicate the subsequent Marcan additions and the points at which they were made. Dr. Taylor wishes readers to remember that by hypothesis Proto-Luke is a draft and not a final Gospel; and that, even if criticism is unable to put us in touch with the exact literary form of the source, the text as we have it now ought to provide sufficient ground for the appreciation of its fundamental scope and value. The text begins with the preaching of the Baptist, includes the parables of the fifteenth chapter, the crucifixion, and the resurrection appearances. It is a Gospel framework which waits for the incidents which were to make it the most beautiful book in the world.

Foundations of Faith: IV. Eschatological. By W. E. Orchard, D.D. (Allen & Unwin. 5s. net.)

This concluding part of Dr. Orchard's studies will be read with keener interest even than the three thought-provoking volumes that have preceded it. It deals with immortality, the resurrection of the body, purgatory, heaven and hell, the parousia, and the future of Christianity—subjects of extraordinary importance to us all. Dr. Orchard discusses the various opinions held, and puts his own view clearly and dispassionately. There are points on which he will not carry conviction to all his readers, but they cannot fail to be impressed with his survey of these foundation doctrines. He is convinced that if our earthly life is to have any rational meaning or ethical sanction it demands faith in immortality, and that demands faith in God. The weakness of Spiritualism is clearly brought out, and the fact that our Lord's resurrection body was in possession of certain properties which made it fit to be the medium of spiritual manifestations is used to throw light on our resurrection body. The chapters on purgatory and on hell are of special importance, and the whole book is one of sustained interest to Christian thinkers.

Christian Findings after Fifty Years: A Retrospective Summary. By Frank Ballard, D.D., M.A., B.Sc., &c. (Epworth Press. 6s. net.)

Dr. Ballard has used to good purpose a period of enforced silence, and has placed on record his mature thoughts concerning great religious themes, classified under two headings: 'theological conceptions' and 'practical issues.' The ground surveyed is too extensive for anything more than the statement of general conclusions, but behind every statement is the unique experience of one who is thoroughly familiar with the difficulties of the modern mind. Dr. Ballard excels in clearly-cut definitions, and never under-estimates the strength of theories which he rejects. The chapter on 'Spiritualism' is an example of wise and well-balanced criticism. Sometimes the alternatives presented do not exhaust the possibilities, as when the choice is said to lie between Zwinglian and sacerdotal views of the

sacrament. Nor need the drastic remedy of excision be so frequently applied to the phraseology of hymns. Here and there, sympathetic readers will differ in judgement, and will be unable to accept unmodified every formula. But few will fail to recognize the constructive value of many clear statements of Christian belief and to appreciate fully the author's constant desire to remove stumbling-blocks from the path of seekers after truth.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings. Vol. XIII.—Indexes. (T. & T. Clark. 35s.)

Finis coronat opus will be the unanimous verdict of students who add this indispensable volume to Dr. Hastings's great work of reference. Without it, full advantage cannot be taken of the wealth of information stored up in this 'library of text-books in encyclopaedic form.' An exhaustive Subject Index, most carefully compiled, renders easy of access the mass of material accumulated in the *Encyclopaedia*, but scattered in different articles. There are also Indexes to Scripture passages, to authors of articles, and to foreign words, the classified list including more than thirty languages, from African to Turkish. The volume is dedicated 'To the Memory of James Hastings, whose life's work was completed in this *Encyclopaedia*,' and the accomplished members of his staff are to be heartily congratulated on the successful completion of the work whose foundations were well and truly laid.

Messrs. Longmans publish *Elementary Christianity*, by Cyril Alington, D.D. (2s. 6d. net). This was the book recommended for Lenten study in the diocese of London, but we hope that it will have a much longer life and much wider appeal than that. It is a golden book, well abreast of the best scholarship of the day, yet absolutely loyal to the essentials. It is lucid, but there is deep thought behind it, and it deals with the belief about God and the divinity of Christ in a way that is arresting and impressive. The last section, on 'Intellectual and Moral Obstacles to the Acceptance of the Christian View,' leads up to the position that, as ambassadors of Christ, there rests on His followers 'the duty of so ordering our lives as to prove (if it please God) in our own persons that the gospel of Christ is true.'—*The Spirit of Glory*. By F. W. Drake. (4s. 6d. net.) Ten meditations on the Holy Spirit and His work in human life, which are addressed to Martha rather than to Mary. They show how the normal tasks of life are brought to perfection by the grace of the Holy Spirit. His presence spreads through the life a spirit of repose, out of which He awakes a response to the love of Jesus. There follow the energies of a divine renewal. Mr. Drake shows how the work of Christ is completed in the power of the Spirit. Holiness, sacrifice, sympathy, and comfort are all included in the Spirit's work. The four last sections of the book centre round the Sacrament, the ministry, and fellowship. Such thoughts as these will sweeten many busy lives.—*The Wit and Wisdom of Dean Inge*. Selected and

arranged by Sir James Marchant, LL.D. (8s. 6d.) Dean Inge enhances the value of his friend's selections by a Preface, which gives some of his gleanings from others on the subjects of Religion, Progress, Democracy, War, Literature, England, and Reflections, which are touched on in the book. It is pleasant to find authorities given for these quotations and to have a full list of the sources from which Sir James has made his selections. It is a book full of meaning on things that appeal to us all, and it will wake up rich thought and courage wherever it goes. *The Smoking Furnace and the Burning Lamp.* Edited by P. B. Clayton, M.A., M.C. The Vicar of All Hallows edits a group of sermons concerning Toc H which help an outsider to get to the heart of a movement which means much for the youth of this and other countries. The two sketches with which it opens make their own appeal, and the sermons give some pleasing accounts of the origin of the work at Talbot House in Poperinghe. They are sermons that get home to one's heart.

Religion or God? By Edward S. Drown. (Milford. 4s. 6d. net.) This is the first of four lectures for which Judge Dudley made provision in 1750. It was delivered in Harvard University last year, and deals with that knowledge of God derived from the exercise of man's faculties on the facts of nature. The traditional arguments for the existence of God erred by starting outside the direct field of religion and morality, apart from which they tried to arrive at a religious and moral result. Mr. Drown holds that the starting-ground should rather be with the whole field of religion as a fact in history and in the religious consciousness. Are we justified, on such a basis, in asserting the reality of a transcendent object toward which these facts are directed, and on which they depend? May it not be that in the immediate conviction of a transcendent reality, so deep-seated in the religious life, we should find the ultimate source of the validity of the idea of God? The answer to the 'subjectivistic' attitude in religion, that of Feuerbach and certain modern psychologists, must go back ultimately to the sense of transcendent reality belonging to the moral and spiritual facts of life. Religion is thus conceived, not as a self-product of human desires, but as the revealing power of a living God. That means that it is not dependent on itself, but on God.

The Permanent Value of the Ten Commandments. By H. J. Flowers, B.A., B.D. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d. net.) This book has grown out of Mr. Flowers's sermons and addresses. The purely preaching matter has been removed, the historical and critical side expanded a little. The result is a volume for which other thinkers and speakers will be grateful. The introductory pages bring out the influence and divine origin of the Decalogue. Religion and morality are both put on a very high plane, and God is made the central and controlling factor everywhere. With these laws He has been endeavouring to train men, to show the grandeur of goodness, the heinousness of sin: The first commandment 'demands faith in the ancestral God'; the

second was a direct challenge to all the religious customs of the time. Israel had been reared in idolatry, and was positively heathenish and idolatrous when she came out of Egypt. The treatment of the fourth and fifth commandments is clear and practical; that of the seventh is outspoken and greatly needed. 'If the conception of marriage which the Christian Church presents to the world were accepted by all who enter upon it, there would be no need to emphasize the command against adultery. And if all looked upon their bodies as the temple of the Holy Ghost, there would be instinctive expulsion of the temptation to sexual sin.' Mr. Flowers has given us a wise and timely book.

Ministerial Life and Work. By W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D. (Chicago: Bible Institute. \$1.75.) This is an abridgement of *The Work of the Ministry*, which appeared in 1911, and is now out of print. Mrs. Thomas has carried out the task of revision which was suggested to her husband several months before his death. Sections relating to Church of England formularies have been omitted, and the work now appeals to ministers of all Churches. The first part is on the ministry of the Prophet, of the Twelve, of the Pastoral Epistles, and of our own day. The second part deals with public worship, preaching, the prayer-meeting, and other ministerial duties, in a way that preachers will find both stimulating and suggestive. Dr. Griffith Thomas is a guide who was greatly trusted and honoured, and this book will be warmly welcomed.

From the Abingdon Press (New York) we received *The Christlike God*, by F. J. McConnell, D.D. (\$1.75.) This is a survey of the divine attributes from the Christian point of view. It has grown out of interviews with the young about religious experience and theory. He shows that all the doctrines of miracle and incarnation, trinity and atonement, no matter how difficult to understand intellectually, are clear enough in their central intent, to show God in Christ. Eight chapters are given to the Divine Personality, Unity, Unchangeableness, and other attributes; five are headed the Divine Creator, King, Father, Co-worker, Friend. The study needs thought, but it will well repay it. Its burden is that 'on the basis of the mutual respect of God and man the finest friendship can be built up.'—*Men of the Mysteries*, by Ralph W. Sockman, D.Ph. (\$1.25), is the Matthew Simpson Lectures for 1926. Mystery is here regarded as that part of our environment which has been apprehended but not comprehended. It is the unmapped borderland of knowledge which lures the exploring mind out to new discoveries and larger living. Barriers to the mysteries are first considered, then areas to be cultivated are marked out, and the last lectures are headed 'Moving into the Mysteries,' 'Breaking Camp,' 'The Mind of the Traveller,' 'The Alternations of Travel.' The lectures open up the wonderland of truth in a way that will make many eager to be travellers in that realm.—*The Heights of Christian Love*. By Doremus A. Hayes. (\$1.50.) This exposition of St. Paul's Hymn of Love has three

divisions: 'Climbing the Trail,' 'On the Broad Tableland,' 'In the Heights.' The book has grown out of thirty years' work in the Chair of New Testament Interpretation at Evanston, and it is discriminating and helpful in a delightful fashion. Love and Envy, Love and Etiquette, and other themes, supply much food for thought and much suggestive matter for preachers.—*Christian Worship and its Future*. By G. A. Johnston Ross. (\$1.) Dr. Ross's five lectures were given at Ohio Wesleyan University, and deal with the present situation, the dimensions and background of Christian worship, and the worship of to-morrow. The four dimensions are God, the individual worshipper, the worshipping, and the world of nature. Dr. Ross suggests that the moulds of our public worship are too exclusively occupied with the inner life, and too much ignore our life among things. He hopes that the worship of the future will have at its heart a more adequate conception of God, and will be recognized as an outgoing of our whole nature—intellectual, emotional, and volitional. He trusts it will return to the gladness of early Christian worship and from time to time escape the tyranny of articulate speech. It must be internationalized, and will only be effective as hearts and minds are turned again to the Cross. Ministers will welcome these stimulating and suggestive lectures.—*What May I Believe?* By Edmund D. Soper. (\$1.50.) These twenty-five studies were given in Northwestern University to students who were perplexed by such subjects as the existence and character of God, the method of creation, the inspiration of the Bible, and questions about Jesus Christ and the Trinity. The papers are clear and reasonable, and cannot fail to guide thought and strengthen faith.—*Some Wild Notions I Have Known*, by Roy L. Smith (\$1), begins with 'Love is blind,' and handles phrases like 'Silence is golden' and 'You can't put old heads on young shoulders' in a lively fashion, spiced with much biographical incident. There are seventy-six little essays in this racy volume.

The Student Christian Movement publish *The Church: Its Worship and Sacraments*, by C. Anderson Scott, D.D. (8s. 6d.) The words of Christ, 'that they also may be one in us,' are continually appealed to as the divine sanction of a demand for organic and external union. Dr. Scott shows that the passage has really no bearing on what is meant by 'Re-union.' His suggestions as to variations in the Order of Public Worship will set preachers thinking, though we do not feel drawn to some of them. The Real Presence, not in the elements, but 'in the rite as a whole,' is clearly brought out. Christ promised His unbroken presence with His Church, and if we 'say that He is specially present in the Sacrament, it is because we are helped by the Sacrament to a specially vivid sense of His presence.'—*Creation Stories of Genesis*. By A. Gordon James. (4s. net.) The writer has not set himself an easy task. He seeks to present the truths embodied in the first three chapters of Genesis in the light of present-day knowledge. There can be no question as to the skill and insight with which the work is carried out. It is a book which

thinkers will know how to appreciate, even where they do not accept all its conclusions. The criticism of Dr. Orchard's view of supernatural grace given to man at his creation, and deprived of it on his disobedience, is both acute and reasonable. The whole discussion, indeed, is valuable as an attempt to unfold the message which Genesis still has for us. Nor should the final pages on the new line of evolution originated in Jesus be overlooked.—*In Search of a Personal Creed.* By J. D. M. Rorke. (4s.) This inquiry starts from the foundation facts of ourselves and the world we live in. We have to make a throne in our thought and outlook for God. We come to regard Him as 'at least personality,' and that personality is best summed up in the word Fatherhood. From the Creator and Father we pass to the Indwelling God. There are some helpful suggestions as to the Trinity, and good notes are added to each chapter which will be a great aid in study. The two sections on 'The Valuation of Jesus' and 'The Drama of Christ' are forceful and suggestive. Those who follow this discussion will lay hold firmly of the essentials of a personal creed.—*The Spirit to Think.* By E. V. Lindsay. (8s. 6d.) Mrs. Lindsay's 'Forsaken' brings out impressively the difference between the death of Socrates and that of Christ, and other essays deal with Faithlessness, Blind Fate, and various subjects in a way that provokes thought. Five brief Notes on literary and other themes will be read with interest, and the short poems have thought and feeling. 'Waste' has a pathos of its own.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press send us a revised version of the Apocrypha (6s. net), which they have published in connexion with the Delegates of the Oxford University Press. It is the first edition of the Revised Apocrypha which has been divided into verses; the references are placed between the two columns, and the clear, dark type is very easy to read. Every minister needs the Apocrypha at his side, and this edition is certainly the one that has the best claim to the place of honour.—*S. Aureli Augustini Hipponensis Episcopi De Catechizandis Rudibus Liber Unus.* Translated, with an Introduction and Commentary, by Joseph P. Christopher, Ph.D. (Brookland: The Catholic Education Press. \$3.) This is Vol. VIII. of the Patristic Studies, published by the Catholic University of America. The need for such a commentary on Augustine's popular treatise has long been felt, and is here met in a way that will commend itself to all students. St. Augustine's treatise was composed as a guide to the ministry of catechizing, and is a manual both for the catechist and the catechumen. It is one of the finest works of his maturity, and may be called 'a golden little book.' The Latin text and a new translation are given on opposite pages, and are followed by commentary and indexes, which fill 243 pages. Every passage of the work is expounded with rare learning and research. No difficulty is overlooked, and the whole treatise is lighted up by illustrations drawn from the Fathers and from other works of St. Augustine.—*Les Premières Polémiques Thomistes: 1. Le Correctorium Corruptorii 'Quare.'* Edition critique par l'Abbé P. Glorieux.

(Le Saulchoir, Kain : Belgique). The editor of this imposing volume is Professor of the Seminary at Lille, and his work is a masterpiece of skilled and patient labour. The *Correctorium Quare* is one of the numerous replies which appeared within a dozen years of the death of Thomas Aquinas, to the *Correctaire* of William de la Mare, a Franciscan master at Oxford who set himself to criticize and refute certain things which he regarded as dangerous in Aquinas's teaching. The *Quare* was one of the answers to de la Mare. It gives the text of all his articles and then answers his objections in full. There are a dozen manuscripts which give the text in whole or in part. These are described in detail, and the question of authorship is investigated in a learned Introduction. The text is given with full critical notes.—*Le Catéchisme de Confucius. L'Esprit de Contradiction*. (Paris : Marcel Rivière. 8 fr. each.) Maître Kou and his master, the venerable Kou Hong Ming, have prepared a translation of two works which contain the heart of the teaching of Confucius. He holds that a moral life consists in the renunciation of self and the conformity of life with good sense, reason, and good taste. Diogenes would have been great if he had not failed in decency and good sense. Confucius was both Stoic and Epicurean, and for twenty-five centuries has been taken as his people's guide. The writers think that a Confucian-Christianity would be able to renew both China and the world. Dr. Chavigny's study of the Spirit of Contradiction is based on careful observation of various cases, and is especially intended for parents and students of human nature. He has much to say about the genesis of this troublesome temper, and makes many wise suggestions as to the way in which children may be saved from it and how it may be corrected in oneself and one's neighbours. It is a little book of great interest, rich in experience and strong sense.—*The Gate of the Prison*. (Heath Cranton. 3s. 6d.) The title of this book comes from Thomas à Kempis, and its papers are the fruit of 'a reshuffling of all life's values.' The writer thinks that the widespread lack of love towards God, and especially towards our fellows, is due to the fact that the Church has concentrated all its love on Christ. There is much here which we are quite unable to endorse. We feel that love of Christ means love of God and man, such as nothing else could produce. The chapters on Sickness and Disease, on Christ, and on the Messiah, are 'reshufflings' which will certainly not commend themselves to Christian thinkers.—*Christianity as Bhakti Marga*. By A. J. Appasamy, M.A. (Macmillan & Co. 4s. 6d. net.) This Indian study in the Mysticism of the Johannine writings is dedicated to the memory of Baron F. von Hügel, and has been taking shape during the last six years. There is scarcely a page in Bhakti literature which does not speak of mystic union, and Indian Christians show a strong leaning towards the mystical aspects of Christianity. The doctrine of the indwelling Christ appeals to them with special force. This leads Mr. Appasamy to think that Indian Christianity will be largely mystical. It will emphasize the communion of the human soul with a personal God. That gives special importance to the Fourth

Gospel in relation to Indian thought, for mystic union there consists in carrying out the will of God and Christ to its complete fulfilment. In the Tamil Bhakti hymns, love is often used as a synonym for Bhakti. The awakening of Bhakti is viewed in connexion with the prologue of the Gospel. The love of God and of man, and other subjects as presented in the Gospel and in Bhakti literature, are brought out in a way that shows how much there is in Indian thought by which Christian workers can win sympathy and acceptance of their message.

The World to Which Christ Came, by Frank Richards, M.A. (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d.), helps us to see the political, religious, and social conditions of the nations when Jesus Christ was born. Such a view could only have been presented by a master, and, though it needs careful thought, the work is lucid and vivid throughout. The twelve chapters survey the world of Judaea and the outlying countries, trace the Jewish Dispersion, and describe the life and thought of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, nor do they overlook the British Isles and the Lands Beyond. We know no book that covers such a vast area in such a way, and every page bears witness to the knowledge and research put at the service of students and busy men and women. They will be richly repaid by close attention to this unique volume.—*Was Jesus an Historical Person?* By Elwood Worcester, D.D. (Milford. 6s. net.) This little book gives the substance of two sermons preached in Emmanuel Church, Boston. The first gives the testimony of those who were not Christians; the second brings out the witness of friends such as St. Paul, the Synoptists, and others. It also contrasts the teaching of Hillel and of Christ as to the Golden Rule. Dr. Worcester believes in the reality of most of our Lord's miracles, and, after ten years' study of what he calls 'alien spirits,' he awaits the verdict of the next two or three generations of scholars with confidence. The argument of the book is reasonable, lucid, and to our minds both refreshing and convincing.—*A Book of Modern Prayers*. Compiled by Samuel McComb, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 6s. net.) A new sense of the significance and value of prayer is one of the hopeful signs of the times, and this choice selection of prayers is well adapted for public or personal use. The prayers are drawn from many sources. Cardinal Newman, R. L. Stevenson, Bishop Westcott, and others are laid under contribution, and the readings which follow come from a still wider circle. The editor's introductory essay on 'The Meaning and Value of Prayer' is impressive and encouraging. Real prayer is a power which can shape the future of man and of the world, but its purely spiritual effects have most permanent value. 'Prayer is a school of spiritual education in which he who prays advances from day to day in the knowledge of the best things of life.'—*Is Jesus God?* By C. J. Burrough, M.A. (Skeffington & Son. 2s. 6d.) These 'Popular Addresses on the Deity of Christ' deal with the faith of the Early Church as shown in the Creeds, and the Gospel records. Our Lord's own self-consciousness, the way the apostles came to believe, the conversion of Saul

of Tarsus, the Virgin birth and other subjects which bear on the deity of Christ, are treated in a way that will strengthen faith. It is a book that many will welcome.—The Wesleyan Sunday School Union publishes a booklet of *Prayers for Junior Worship* (1s. 6d.), with *Incidental Music for Primary Worship* (2s.). The book of prayers, edited by Godfrey S. Pain, gives helpful suggestions as to prayer, and brief litanies, thanksgivings, petitions, and hymns, for ordinary and special occasions. It is a little book that will brighten and enrich worship for boys and girls. The companion folio of incidental music, composed by Ida M. Lloyd, gives spirited marches, and quiet music, with flower songs and a lullaby, for a Cradle Roll or nature talk. There is a page of 'Worship Signals' to precede and follow prayer, and show when work is to close. Every Sunday school will be wise to adopt these two cheap publications.—*Nature—the Art of God*. By G. T. Shettle. (Skeffington & Son. 2s. net.) Ten sermons on sunshine, flowers, trees, and other nature subjects. They are well illustrated from daily life, and have many apt quotations. Everything is so homely and practical that they must have been heard with pleasure by Mr. Shettle's parishioners.—*The Story of Jesus* (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d. net) will delight small folk, with its full-page pictures in colours and in black and white, its bold print, and its well-told story. It is a notable addition to *Teeny-Weeny's Big Books*.—*The Evolution of Man Scientifically Disproved in Fifty Arguments*, by W. A. Williams, D.D. (New Jersey, \$1), is the work of one who holds that 'evolution leads to infidelity and atheism.' We do not agree with the writer, but he puts his case strongly.—*The Freedom of the Free Churches*, by W. A. Selbie, M.A., D.D. (Independent Press, 6d.), examines the questions of the Church, the Ministry, the Sacraments, and Catholicity, and urges that the Free Churches must 'exercise a wise and patient tolerance in all matters of opinion, and be much more concerned to maintain a high standard of Christian life and service.'—*A Book of Devotional Readings*, by J. M. Connell (Longmans & Co., 5s. net), has reached a second edition. Its contents are arranged in chronological order, beginning with 'New Sayings of Jesus' from Oxyrhynchus and ending with a passage from one of Stopford Brooke's sermons. The selections are both in prose and verse, and are short and full of meaning. It is a real aid to devout thought, and we hope that another edition may soon be wanted. *The Great Physician*. (S.P.C.K. 5s.) The Rev. Gayner Banks and Dr. Sinclair Bowen have prepared this Manual of Devotion for those who care for the sick. It contains prayers, offices, meditations and prayers for the sacraments, apt quotations, Bible selections, and hymns, which include 'Jesu, Lover of my soul' and 'O for a thousand tongues to sing.' The editors have met a need which must have been widely felt, and have done it with real insight into the mission which such a manual can fulfil.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL

The Great War Between Athens and Sparta. By Bernard W. Henderson, M.A., D.Litt. (Macmillan. 18s.)

As its sub-title indicates, this volume is primarily intended as a companion to the military history of Thucydides, and as such it will be invaluable to the student. It is, however, a great deal more than this; it is a great story thrillingly told, and is as absorbingly interesting as a romance. It is, in fact, a romance; for, though it is too often apt to be overlooked, history is often-times as romantic as fiction, and no novel could be more fascinating than this fine historical study. The long struggle between Athens and Sparta is one of the great episodes of world history, and, so far as we are aware, nowhere is the story better told than in this volume. The author is well equipped for his task; not only is he quite at home among the original sources, but he displays a grasp of the principles of military science, and an acquaintance with the history of many campaigns, which are of incalculable value in his handling of the sources, and the presentation of his narrative. Dr. Henderson is no dry-as-dust historian, so painfully impartial and so passionless that the reader can never even hazard a guess as to what he really thinks, and in what direction his sympathies lie. These latter are at times manifest enough, and add to the interest of the story, though occasionally evoking a tendency to criticize on the part of the reader. This, however, is all to the good. The limits of this notice render it quite out of the question to enter into any discussion of detailed points, points touching statesmanship, strategy, and personal character, of which there are many open thereto. Considering the work as a whole, so far, at all events, as the present writer is concerned, Dr. Henderson's story tends to lessen one's respect for the Athenian democracy, and to suggest, on the other hand, that Sparta was not quite so contemptible as she has sometimes appeared to be. Outstanding as are the merits of this volume, it must be added that it is not always above criticism. The phrase 'dignity of history' is a hateful one, and the attempt to preserve it has before now rendered almost unreadable some books which have really deserved a better fate. Dr. Henderson certainly avoids this quag, but is now and then in danger of toppling into the ditch on the other side of the road. His tone is at times almost too breezy, and is a little apt to jar upon the reader. On the whole, we think it would not be unfair to say that he is usually more ready to blame than to praise, alike in estimating the character and policy of the leading actors in the story, and in his comments upon the findings of those who have told the story before him. He is apt to be somewhat dogmatic in his attitude towards divers matters upon which difference of opinion is not only possible,

but legitimate, and to buttress his own position by more or less sneering reference to that of those who differ from him. He quotes a temperate and reasoned passage from E. A. Freeman, only to laugh at it as 'Freeman's shriek.' So far as the point in dispute is concerned, we are inclined to side with our author against Freeman, but we resent this contemptuous dismissal of one who has earned a high place among master-historians. Grote fares even worse, and more often falls under the lash; but Grote has earned the right to our respect, even though we may not always accept his reading of the evidence at our disposal. 'The episcopal violence of Bishop Thirlwall' is another doubtful phrase. But, in this connexion, 'episcopal violence' either means nothing at all, or it is a mere tautology. These may seem petty criticisms, but the writer of so fine a book as this can well afford to be magnanimous and respectful in his judgement of historians who differ from him. Though we have felt compelled to draw attention to this point in which the author's narrative appears to be open to criticism, for the work as a whole we do not hesitate to confess unbounded admiration. It is learned, acute, and satisfying, while as a raconteur Dr. Henderson can easily take his place among the best. The format of the volume leaves little to be desired, and there is a lavish provision of maps and plans which greatly help to a clear understanding of strategic questions. We have carefully read the volume for the purpose of this review, and shall now read it again, uncritically, for the sheer joy of the reading.

The Life of Thomas Cranmer. By Anthony C. Deane, M.A., F.R.S.L. *Archbishop Laud.* By A. S. Duncan-Jones. *Thomas Arnold.* By R. J. Campbell, M.A. *St. Thomas of Canterbury.* By Sidney Dark. (Macmillan & Co. 6s. net each.)

These volumes belong to the Great English Churchman Series, of which Mr. Sidney Dark is editor. His aim has been to select a biographer in sympathy with the character he has to represent, and in that respect he has made an excellent beginning, though Canon Deane seems to us unduly severe in his criticism of Cranmer as archbishop. His Cambridge years show him in a setting exactly suited to his best qualities. His father was a Nottinghamshire gentleman of limited means, and in 1508 the son entered Jesus College at the age of fourteen. In 1511 he was elected to a Fellowship. Within twelve months he forfeited it by his marriage with 'Black Joan,' who was a barmaid at the Dolphin. She and her infant died, and his college re-elected him to his Fellowship. He devoted himself to theology, was Divinity Lecturer of Jesus, and had private pupils. In an evil hour he became involved in the King's schemes for a divorce, and in 1533 was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. He had recently married the daughter of the Lutheran pastor at Nuremberg, who bore him three children and was twice remarried after his death. Canon Deane says his religion was devoid of emotion, though its

reality is beyond question. But he thinks 'the English Church has never had an archbishop at once so amiable and so incompetent.' It strikes us as a harsh judgement, but his behaviour on the day of his martyrdom, and the skill and labour which he gave to the Book of Common Prayer, will keep his memory green as long as the Church of England exists. To Mr. Dark, Becket is 'a heroic figure whose life and death were of inestimable service to the Church which he loved and served.' He is quite certain that the archbishop was right in his struggle to preserve the international unity of the Church and its independence of the secular power. There is much to be said on the other side, but Mr. Dark tells the story of Becket's early life, his Chancellorship, his martyrdom, and his immense hold on the unqualified admiration of his countrymen, in a way that makes the man live before our eyes. He certainly fulfils his own canon that the biographer should be sympathetic with the character with which he deals. He puts us on our guard in his Preface when he says, 'I make no claim to inhuman impartiality.' He has to allow, with Dean Hutton, that Becket was 'no plaster saint,' but he claims that he was 'a human saint,' and he evidently feels that is better. Laud is a tragic figure. 'He believed profoundly in the Catholic Church; he was certain that he was a member of it, and that the Church of England was part of it.' With the death of King James he stepped into most intimate relations with Charles I. He believed that government rested on function and intelligence, not on force, and found the readiest symbol of that ideal in the crown. If civilization was to prosper, the Church must be placed in a position of strength in close alliance with the State. Mr. Duncan-Jones tells the story of his rise to power, and his work in London and Canterbury, in a way that throws light on the situation with which Laud had to deal, and holds that he saved for England the idea that the Church had a divine and not a Parliamentary origin, and 'preserved by his life, and still more by his death, the new possibility recovered by the Renaissance—the possibility of a Catholicism that was at once supernatural and free, confident and reticent, that drew its inspiration and resources from the One Church of Jesus Christ, and yet was able to speak to the people of England in the language in which they were born.'

Thomas Arnold is separated by a whole hemisphere from Laud. He is like him in the nobleness of his nature and his fine, unselfish courage. But Arnold was a thorough-going Erastian who treated 'the Church and the clerical office as institutions ranking with, and parallel to, social organization in general, and as having the same divine sanction and no more.' His sound, strong, practical wisdom would have made him excel as an administrator in any department of the national life. Mr. Campbell is positive that if he had been a bishop at the centre of affairs for another twenty-five years, the entire history of the Church of England would have taken a somewhat different course, though ultimately the outcome would have been much the same as we see it to-day. His greatest contribution to the life of his generation was the rare nobleness, disinterestedness, and

elevation of spirit which marked his personal character. Mr. Campbell feels that Arnold's manly strength had an element of the formidable in it, but he won an intense personal attachment from the boys who knew him best at Rugby.

Edmund Burke. By Bertram Newman. (G. Bell & Sons. 7s. 6d.)

Mr. Newman's biographical and literary study of Cardinal Newman was recognized as a discriminating piece of work when it appeared two years ago, and there was certainly room for a short life of Burke which should not only give the main facts of his career, but supply the substance of the most important utterances of 'the only orator of our speech whose words have passed into literature,' and who said more 'on the politics of his own time that is of permanent and universal application, and said it better, than any one else in English history.' His first speeches in Parliament were made on the Stamp Act, and won applause from Pitt himself. When the Rockinghams fell from power, he was free to 'choose other connexions,' and Rockingham advised him to do so in his own interest. The bidding for him would have been brisk, for he had made a great impression on the House; but he stuck to the Rockinghams. Mr. Newman says 'his oratory was like no one else's; that is one of the few points on which the select audience who sat through all his speeches found themselves in agreement with their weaker and far more numerous brethren. . . . What in a lesser man would be magniloquence is in him magnificence. High-sounding effects which, at a distance absolutely immeasurable, would remind us of the rant and froth of the Irish agitator, are, in Burke, not only felt to be the authentic echo of a noble and generous spirit, but seem to be rooted in reasoning and in fact. The grand generalizations in which he abounds always spring straight out of the situation before him; his imaginative amplifications of particular topics are, so far from being otiose, always strictly relevant to the argument.' Mr. Newman traces his course from the days when he was as buoyant as Goldsmith to the later years when he became soured by perpetual disappointment and oppressed by a load of debt. The position which he took on the great questions of the time is brought out in a series of valuable chapters. His character 'stands, by general consent, as high as a predominant purity of motive and unselfishness of aim can place it.' He did not impress himself on his generation in the masterful manner of Johnson, nor does he dominate us as does Chatham, nor charm us as does Fox. Yet we feel that we have in him a man who was 'great every way—great in his loves and his hates, in his ideals, his purposes, and his energy.' He lent himself to the support of a political and social order which was even then beginning to pass away, but he had something of the poet's imagination and wonder, and this sense we 'feel beneath many of his utterances, which express the commonplaces of human government in the

grandest form, and lend them a new significance.' The book is one of sustained interest, and one that students of Burke and his times will warmly welcome.

The Autobiography of Kingsley Fairbridge. (Milford. 6s. net.)

It is not often that such a vivid piece of writing as this comes into one's hands. Kingsley Fairbridge was born in Grahamstown in 1885, and died in Western Australia, where he had founded his Child Emigrant Settlement for training children under colonial conditions for farm life. His father was a land surveyor to the Cape Government, and the boy's adventures in Mashonaland have a thrill about them which gets hold of us as we read. The invasion of rats in the road-worker's hut where he slept on one expedition, the Kafir robbers who pillaged their hut one night, the perils from snakes and leopards, the hunger and thirst which the youth endured, keep us excited and amazed from first to last. Not least interesting is the visit to London in which his plan for child emigration began to take shape. He became a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, and won his blue in a dramatic boxing match with Julian Grenfell. In 1909 he launched his scheme for emigration by a memorable speech at the Colonial Club in Oxford, and three years later he and his wife began their settlement in Australia. He lived to pilot it through enormous difficulties, and to-day there are 207 children in training. More than £33,000 has been raised for buildings and the development of the land, and the London Committee has 'but one resolve, and that is to uphold through dark days and fair the ideals of their founder, Kingsley Fairbridge.' This autobiography will win them friends and helpers wherever it goes. Mr. Amery's Preface says that to know Fairbridge was 'an inspiration and a privilege,' and Sir Arthur Lawley's Epilogue describes the way in which the Settlement in Australia was born and carried to success.

The Political Ideas of the Greeks. By John L. Myres. (Abingdon Press. \$2.50.)

The Wykeham Professor of Ancient History delivered these lectures at Wesleyan University, Middletown, in 1925-6. It is only recently, he says, that fresh sources of information, documentary and archaeological, have made it easier to understand how Greek society came to be constituted as it was. The notions emerged of a Natural Order among the events of nature and the doings and experiences of man, capable of being formulated as a guide for conduct; of authority, justice, law, and freedom. These conceptions Professor Myres describes in six lectures. He first shows how the Greek city-state came into being and the purpose which it served; then he makes an historical review of the notions of authority, ordinance, justice, and law, and finally discusses the relation between the State and the individual as a provision for securing and maintaining freedom. We return to the Greek view of nature and society, when men are 'good

without compulsion, spontaneously, by divine endowment, genuinely, and in no way artificially.' In the city of such souls the Good Man and the Good Citizen are one. Notes are added which add much to the value of a striking set of lectures.

A Quaker Saint of Cornwall: Loveday Hambly and her Guests. By L. V. Hodgkin. (Longmans & Co. 10s. 6d.)

Mrs. Holdsworth has already given us *A Book of Quaker Saints* which specially appeals to young readers; now she adds this biography of the Mother of Quakerism in the West of England, from the day of her sudden appearance in George Fox's prison in Launceston in 1656 to her death in 1682. Before Mrs. Holdsworth began her researches, the first fifty years of Loveday Hambly's life were a blank. Two and a half years of work have filled up that blank and opened out a memorable page in the history of Cornish Quakerism. Loveday Billing was born about 1604 at Hengar, in North Cornwall, not far from Tintagel, and married William Hambly, of Tregangeeves (the House of the Sheep), two miles west of St. Austell, on November 5, 1639. William Hambly died in 1651, but his widow lived on at the farm with an unmarried sister and nephew, Thomas Lower. He went to see George Fox at Bodmin assizes, where the Quaker's words ran through him like a flash of lightning. The two aunts afterwards visited Fox in Launceston prison, where Loveday was convinced and became an earnest member of the Society. After his release, Fox stayed for two or three days at Tregangeeves, which now became 'the Swarthmoor of the West,' where Friends were always welcome. Mary Fell married Thomas Lower, who afterwards enjoyed considerable practice as a doctor in London. Loveday suffered imprisonment, and had her cattle taken by her persecutors, but she was a tower of strength to the Society until her death on December 14, 1682. The ancient register of Cornwall Monthly Meeting records the burial of 'Loveday Hambly, long time famous for her hospitality and good works.' Illustrations in colours and black and white add much to the charm of a beautiful story.

Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640. By Evelyn May Albright. (Oxford University Press. 21s. net.)

This study seeks to explain certain conditions of the age which affected the content and the form of drama. Its publication has been approved by the Modern Languages Association of America, and it throws much light on how, why, and when plays came into print. 'The control of the drama by public officials is here considered less for its own sake than for its effect upon the content of the plays, the time of their publication, and the nature of the dramatic texts.' By far the larger number of acting companies travelled at times from place to place. Many made a business of strolling, and thus escaped local responsibilities, and made it difficult for any community to hold them responsible for their conduct. This unfettered life was more than the age could tolerate, and in 1572 noblemen were permitted

to take the players under their patronage, and became responsible for their conduct. As a rule, besides allowing the use of his name and livery the nobleman took an active interest in getting his men the privilege of playing in various places. Strolling actors were classed in the statutes with rogues and vagabonds, but it is a complete misconception to think that the leading companies of Shakespeare's London were regarded by contemporaries as extremely low in the scale of society. Legislative repression of anti-Catholic spirit on the stage was strangely ineffective. The Jews were treated with pronounced prejudice. 'Shakespeare's Shylock is distinctly more sympathetic than the average treatment.' Playwrights fell upon the Puritan as a common enemy. The censor's chief aims were to prevent any attack on the religion favoured by the State, to suppress ridicule of religious beliefs in general, and to prohibit trouble-making satirical portrayals of particular sects and denominations. There was, however, much laxity where Jews, Puritans, and Catholics were concerned. Some of the successful stage-plays were not published in their own day. There was a very free appropriation of the plots of older plays; collaboration with contemporary playwrights would often tend to destroy the feeling of individual ownership; and many of the dramas were written at extraordinary speed. On all these subjects Miss Albright has collected a mass of interesting material, and presented it in a way that will be of great service to students of the drama. It is a study based on careful and laborious research of documents, many of which are difficult of access.

Zermatt and its Valley. By François Gos. (Cassell & Co. 15s.)

So outstanding are its merits, and so great the pleasure it has afforded, that we regret that we cannot give to this volume unqualified praise. It is unattractively bound and badly stitched; indeed, it displayed a marked tendency to come to pieces as soon as it was opened. It has been printed abroad, and the spacing of the type is, in our opinion, far from pleasing. The appearance of the printed page and the arrangement of the subject-matter are generally similar to that found in the free guide-books issued by some of the Swiss railways. There are three chapters—two long, one very short—and, for any help that they afford to the reader, these divisions might just as well not have been made. In these respects the volume is hardly up to the standard which one has been accustomed to expect in works issued from La Belle Sauvage. So far as subject-matter is concerned, *Zermatt and its Valley* can make no claim to exceptional interest or literary distinction; its finest passages are quotations from the published work of Mummery and his like. But, when all this is said, it still remains to add that the volume is one which we strongly urge every lover of the mountains to procure at the first opportunity; it is certainly one which we shall treasure, and to which we shall frequently turn with unfailing delight. The letterpress matters little; the pictures are everything. There are one hundred and fifty-seven of them, finely executed reproductions of photographs—one

of the finest series of mountain pictures that we have seen in any single volume. The Matterhorn, of course, dominates the series, and is shown from every point of view, including a picture of the summit photographed from the air—a noble subject worthily portrayed, a remark equally true of the summit of the Dow, the highest all-Swiss peak. Fronting this last is what we regard as the *pièce de résistance* of the whole collection—a view of the Weisshorn which gives a more adequate conception of the might of the mountains than any photograph that we can remember to have seen. These are but examples; one might speak of the Dent Blanch, the Dent d'Herens, the Gabelhorn, the giants of the Monte Rosa group, for they are all here. The technique of the pictures leaves little to be desired; their selection reveals great artistic skill; and, in spite of shortcomings upon which we felt compelled to advert, the volume is one which we heartily commend to all who know anything of the fascination of the wonderful mountain-world.

Unknown Dorset. By Donald Maxwell. (John Lane. 15s. net.) This is the seventh county Mr. Maxwell has explored with his sketch-book. He takes pride in the casual and unmethodical manner in which he does his work, and so do those who prize his racy text and his charming illustrations. One falls in love with Lyme Regis on the cover, and with the two views of Poole, whilst the Blue Pool at Purbeck, Corfe Castle, Wareham, Wimborne, and the delightful sketches of cliff and coast scenery make it a real pleasure to turn over these pages. Not the least interesting is the view of Thomas Hardy's house by moonlight. The descriptions are garnished with amusing stories and pleasant encounters with learned and simple folk. There are tales of smuggling and of Cranborne Chase, when heavily-laden ponies carried their burdens from Poole and Swanage till they could be safely disposed of. Whole families were brought up here to theft and every kind of vice. Mr. Maxwell is so vivacious that we never tire of roaming in his company, and, above all, in seeing places known and unknown through his eyes and by his pencil.

Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition. By Rafael Sabatini. (Stanley Paul & Co. 12s. 6d. net.) This work was first published in 1913, and has now reached a sixth edition. It is a grim record of horrors almost incredible, carried out by one who has been justly described as a fiend of cruelty. His own conviction that he was doing God service only makes him more detestable. Sabatini describes Dr. Rule as one of the writers 'who dip their pens in the gall of an intolerance as virulent as that which they attack,' but the appalling account that he gives of the tortures, the *autos de fé*, and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, makes us feel that Dr. Rule, who knew Spain intimately, had both truth and justice on his side in his *History of the Inquisition* and of the monster who was its ruthless leader.

Sona Mona Singh. By Lucia A. Parkhurst. (Abingdon Press. 50 cents.) A pleasing account of an Indian girl who becomes a trained nurse and does great service to her own people. Her American friends made a happy investment when they took charge of the little schoolgirl.

GENERAL

Indian Philosophy. By S. Radhakrishna. Vol. II. (Allen & Unwin. 25s. net.)

THIS is the second volume on Indian Philosophy which we owe to the Professor of Philosophy in Calcutta University. It is devoted to the discussion of the six Brahmanical systems. The movements of thought, their motives and results, are sketched in broad outlines which aim to convey an idea of the several phases of Indian speculative thought. The materialists, sceptics, and some followers of Buddha destroyed all ground of certitude, but the Hindu mind did not contemplate this negative result with equanimity. Reason thus assailed could find refuge in faith. 'The seers of the Upanisads are the great teachers in the school of sacred wisdom. They speak to us of the knowledge of God and spiritual life.' When the Vedic literature became unwieldy, the Sutras or short aphorisms were used to systematize the views of the Vedic thinkers. The extreme conciseness of the Sudras made a commentary essential. All the six systems here discussed accepted the authority of the Veda. They protest against the scepticism of the Buddhists, and erect a standard of objective reality and truth as opposed to an eternal, unstable flux. Their ideal is complete mental poise and freedom from the discords and uncertainties, sorrows and sufferings of life, 'a repose that is ever the same,' which no doubts disturb and no rebirths break into. Each system is described in detail. The Indian mind is not afraid of thinking, though the philosophic impulse has for two or three centuries an attack of lethargy. 'To-day the great religions of the world and the different currents of thought have met on Indian soil.' Contact with the spirit of the West has disturbed the placid contentment of recent times. Faith in traditional solutions has been shaken and has led in some measure to 'a larger freedom and flexibility of thought. Tradition has become fluid again, and while some thinkers are busy rebuilding the house on ancient foundations, others want to remove the foundations altogether. The present age of transition is as full of interest as of anxiety. During the recent past, India was comfortably moored in a backwater outside the full current of contemporary thought, but she is no longer isolated from the rest of the world.' There is a broadening range of experience, a growth of the critical temper, and a sort of distaste for mere speculation. Yet despite these things 'the future is full of promise. If India gains freedom within, then the Western spirit will be a great help to the Indian mind.' Those who are untouched by Western influence are for a large part intellectual and moral aristocrats who think they have little to learn or unlearn. The great thinkers of the past are 'India's grandest title to existence, a clear testimony of her dignity as a

nation with a soul, the proof that she may yet rise above herself, and the pledge of this supreme possibility.'

Adventure, and Other Papers. By Fridtjof Nansen. (Hogarth Press. 4s. 6d. net.) This volume gives Dr. Nansen's Rectorial Address at St. Andrews last November; his Nobel speech—'No More War'—in December, and that delivered in 1922 when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The Rectorial Address does not suffer by comparison with those of Barrie and Kipling, for it is the story of his crossing of Greenland, with its lessons for explorers in life who have the spirit of adventure which will help humanity to surmount its present difficulties and find the right course across the dangerous sea ahead of us. 'No More War' deals with the Treaty of Versailles, the Protocol of Geneva, and Locarno, the milestones on the way to European peace. Such a survey makes a strong appeal for a wise and gracious international policy. The speech on 'Peace' was delivered five years ago, when despair seemed to be the prevailing feeling among the nations of Europe, and shows what the League of Nations was then doing to restore confidence and prosperity. The little volume is sure of a warm welcome, and it well deserves it.

Through the courtesy of the Founder and Director of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum in Wigmore Street we have received two beautifully bound catalogues of the museum and of its Lister Centenary Exhibition of 1927. Each department of the museum is described and illustrated, from the hall, set apart for primitive medicine, to those devoted to statuary and portraits, to naval and military medical matters, and to Jenner and Lister relics. The Lister Exhibition volume gives a life of the famous surgeon with estimates of his work and its influence. Its portraits of himself, his wife, and his chief associates will make it a prized possession. Both catalogues give the speeches delivered at the opening of the museum in 1918 and its re-opening in 1926, when the warmest and most highly-deserved tribute was paid to the princely liberality and the indefatigable research of the Founder.

Travels into Several Remote Regions of the World. In four parts. By Lemuel Gulliver. (G. P. Putnam's Sons. 7s. 6d. net.) Dean Swift's most famous book appeared anonymously in October 1726, and before a month was out was in every one's hands. He told Pope whilst he was finishing it that he hated and detested that animal called man, though he heartily loved John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth. The work is built on that foundation of misanthropy. Its earlier part has many references to current politics, but 'its satire is free from bitterness.' The third part satirizes literary men unmercifully, whilst the fourth gives horses lordship over men without reason or conscience. It is a book which the world cannot allow to die, though it does not make us love the author, or feel much pride in human nature. Still it has its moral, and this handsomely-bound reprint, with its clear type, its maps, and its coloured frontispiece, is a real acquisition.

L'Amour Vainqueur, par Félix Rose. (Paris: Eugène Figuière, 10 fr.) The set of critical essays with which this volume opens appeared in *The French Quarterly* of the Manchester University. They seek to render poetry its true value as a charter of truth and beauty. It is a human charter where man always finds another man, his chosen brother in sadness and in hope. The essays deal with French poetry, lyricism, and modern poetry. M. Rose gives his view of what modern poetry ought to be when wholesome and true. He follows it up with lyrical poems of his own and five episodes from the play *Light in Darkness*. The motto of the work is *Vouloir quand même*. It is a picture of humanity anxious, or even agonized, in which many will recognize their own troubles.

The Little French Girl. (3s. 6d.) *The Old Countess*. By Anne Douglas Sedgwick. (7s. 6d.) (Constable & Co.) *The Little French Girl* has now reached an eighth impression, and it is work of rare interest and merit. Alix's mother is divorced and notorious, but the girl is sweet and pure-minded, and she and Giles Bradley grow into each other's hearts in a delightful way. The contrast between the French and English temperament makes a striking study. *The Old Countess* is as clever a story as *The Little French Girl*, but she makes havoc of the young artist's life and of the French girl who has been her chief friend. Jill, the artist's wife, and Marthe Ludérac are the finest characters in the book, but the countess is rightly described as 'a bad old woman' who brings disaster to all about her. Many delicate and unsavoury things are woven into the stories, which make them unsuitable for family reading, but of their artistry and power there can be no question.—*Echo Answers*. By Elswyth Thane. (John Murray. 7s. 6d.) Tony Stuart has a fascination for his friends, and not least for Stephen Cole, the noted portrait-painter, and his daughter Maida. His life has been clouded by a love romance which never lost its glamour, and which seems about to return when Lady Eve becomes a widow. There are some scenes, like Delphine Ridgeley's love-making and Maida's bearding of Lady Eve, that stand out as brilliant, and Carmichael wins the lady on whom his heart is set. We are only sorry for the most lovable and unselfish Cyril Beauchamp. Why should not Miss Thane find him a partner in her next story? If it is as brilliant and pleasing as *Echo Answers* it will have a big success.—*But Yesterday*. By Maud Diver. (Murray. 7s. 6d.) Sir Henry Arden is killed in a motor accident just after he had been appointed Governor General of Australia. His elder son tries to write his life but some mysterious influence compels him and two others to abandon the work to which Sir Henry had always been strongly opposed. Behind that objection lay an old secret, and Clive's discovery of it almost wrecks his own happiness, though in the end it makes him a nobler man. The girl who is waiting for him is altogether worthy, and the musician whom his father had loved is a wonderful study, with her gifts as composer and instrumentalist. It is a story that holds one fast, and grows more fascinating as it

reaches its happy climax. The weird power of the dead statesman makes a notable study of the occult. Sir Henry seems to come right into his library and forbid every attempt to write his biography.—*My Tower in Desmond*, by S. R. Lysaght (Macmillan & Co., 3s. 6d.), is a cheap reprint of an exceptionally interesting Irish story. One of its heroes unwillingly takes part in the Dublin rebellion. He is a patriot bent on freedom, but does not believe in gaining it by force. His bosom friend, Nick, is devoted to Ireland, but is saner than his cousin. Their adventures and love-affairs make up a striking story, full of lively discussions and vivid pictures of Irish life. Some of the minor characters attract us as much as the inner circle. Jerry Hook is one of the finest of the set, and his engagement is a surprise and delight to his friends.—*Among Privileged People*. By Marie Linde. (Stanley Paul & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) This story won the £100 prize offered in Pretoria for the best novel in Afrikaans, the traditional dialect of the Dutch South African. It has been translated with skill, and is a real love-story, with a heroine who comes from an orphanage and proves herself a pure and strong-minded girl. She has a terrible accident, and is married on a sick-bed when she seems not unlikely to be a confirmed invalid, but the clouds vanish and she and her artist husband have every prospect of success and happiness before them when the curtain falls. There are many interesting characters in the book. The writer is the daughter of the late Mr. Bosman, Government land surveyor at the Cape.—*Hildegarde*. By Kathleen Norris. (John Murray. 7s. 6d.) How two such girls as Hildegarde and Mabel could come from their squalid home in a California Dump will amaze and delight readers of this story. Hilda is certainly a wonder, with her beauty and her clever brain. She gets into bad hands, and is betrayed by a disreputable actor, but she comes through the fire a lovely woman with a firm footing in her literary world and a lover that is worthy of her in Lars Carlsen. Mabel is as sweet and bright a little lady as one could conceive, and after many dark and hard times the world is full of sunshine for them both.—*The Young Settler*, by Joseph Bowes (Epworth Press, 5s. net), is dedicated to lads who are looking towards Australia, and Julian Grey's good fortune will certainly encourage them to make the venture. He has to work hard, and has his perils, but he wins his way to success and finds a host of friends and a bride to be proud of. It is a very lively and happy story.—*Mr. Possum visits the Zoo, and other Nature Stories*. By Frances Joyce Farnsworth. (Abingdon Press. 7s. cents.) These stories will open children's eyes. There are thirteen of them which describe the life-history of the eel, the habits of the sloth and the crab. The possum visits the kangaroo, which boasts that they are the only creatures in the world who know how to carry babies. The pair who listen to the tales add to the interest with which other little folk will read them.—The Annuals for Boys and Girls have a warm place in the hearts of young readers, and the two volumes for 1927 have the arresting title *School and Adventure* (Epworth Press). It is really wonderful to get such books for half

a crown each. The coloured frontispiece and cover, the striking illustrations, and the attractive binding all appeal to young readers, and the eight or nine stories are brimful of fun and adventure. There is a detective flavour in some of them, and burglars, problems, cricket matches and games keep one's attention alert from the first page to the last. *Teeny-Weeny's Nursery Rhyme Book* (2s. 6d.), with its pictures in colours and in black and white, will bring delight to every nursery. It has a surprise on every page.—*The Doctor's Conquest*, by E. A. Stephenson (1s. 6d.), is a South African story. Dr. Trent goes out from England as locum tenens and wins a charming bride. The old grannie is simply delightful, and the young doctor proves himself a fine fellow. It is a very pleasant story, and one that makes life on the veld stand out vividly before our eyes.

Two years ago we noticed Mr. W. H. Wakinshaw's *The Solution of Unemployment*. He has now gathered the results of his later studies into a sixpenny pamphlet, *The Golden Crucifixion of John Bull*. Mr. H. J. D. Thompson, the joint author, has prepared the Diagram of Increment and the questions and answers which elucidate critical points in the theorem. The writers hold that our money system has 'inverted justice, science, and common sense. Life, industry, and sanity have had to conform to a money system, instead of a money system accommodating itself to the requirements of life.' Strong conviction and much study lie behind the criticisms and suggestions of the pamphlet, the main contention of which is that the gold standard is unsound.—*Saturday Papers*. By T. R. Glover. (Student Christian Movement. 5s.) These are thirty-three of Dr. Glover's weekly papers from the *Daily News*, brimful of thought, expressed in the most attractive way. There is rich variety in them. 'A Roman Penny,' with its links to Jesus; 'A Minor Prophet,' opening up the gems of Habbakuk; 'The Scottish Psalm Book,' with its wealth of associations—these are only a few of the delightful and instructive things in this charming book.—The International Fixed Calendar League issues a pamphlet which gives the Mosaic calendar with its fixed dates for Passover and the other festivals. It was based on the Egyptian fixed solar year of twelve months into which Moses blended the two 'six-months years' which the Israelites had previously observed. That is said to have been because Jacob located the twice-yearly breeding seasons, which doubled the yield from their sheep and goats. That is the argument of this ingenious calendar.—*The Philosophy of Individualism*. (London: 40 Masham Street. 1s.) A bibliography of the subject, with comments and an essay which brings out Locke's teaching on Individualism and his world-like influence. The essay is excellent, and so are the notes on books.—*How War was Abolished*, by H. J. Pantin (Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 3s. 6d. net), is a dream of the future which we all trust may be realized. World-wide peace is to be secured by giving the League of Nations the right to enact laws, with power to enforce them. Mr. Pantin's suggestions are the result of long brooding over the problem.—*Recreational Leadership for Boys*, by W. R. Laporte (Methodist Book

Concern, 75 cents), is an excellent book on church work among boys by an expert who feels the importance of the social life of the young, and supplies suggestions as to the way such work can be most helpfully and attractively done. Health, education, sportsmanship, training, developing leaders, are some of the subjects discussed.—*Good Times for Boys*, by W. R. Laporte (Abingdon Press, 60 cents), is a practical guide for the recreation and club leader. He gives full details as to swimming, games, gymnastics, and boys' camps. It will be invaluable to teachers and leaders of athletics.—The 'Book About' series leads us into many fascinating places, and *The Romance of Mining*, by Ernest Protheroe (Epworth Press, 2s. net), makes a special appeal. Coal mining takes the chief place, but iron, copper, gold, salt, and diamonds are all included in this most instructive volume. Its illustrations are specially good. A book on *British Wild Fruits* is not easy to find, and Richard Morse's volume in the 'How to Identify' series (1s. 6d.) is just the pocket companion for a country stroll. Both text and illustrations are excellent.—*Ministers and Probationers with Circuits*. Edited by Arthur Triggs. (Methodist Publishing House. 5s. net.) This is the twenty-fifth edition of one of the most interesting records of Methodism. It is brought down to the Conferences of 1926, and gives a list of the places in which each minister has laboured, with lists of Presidents and Secretaries of the British and Irish, the French and South African Conferences, and an alphabetical list of all ministers who have died in the work. It is no small task to edit such a volume, and Mr. Triggs has done his work with conspicuous care and ability.—Mr. Lightwood's *Methodist Music of the Eighteenth Century* (Epworth Press, 1s.) begins with Wesley at St. Paul's Cathedral, and describes his tune-books, the Handel tunes, the genius of Charles Wesley's sons, and leaves John Wesley talking to the singers whose work he so highly valued. It is a unique little book from the hands of an expert.—*Positive Protestants and the More Excellent Way*, by George Eayrs, Ph.D. (Epworth Press, 1s.), is a legacy from one whose heart was in this subject. He puts his case well, and never fails in respect for those who hold different views from his own. Such a book was greatly needed, and the need is well met in these reasonable and persuasive pages.

The Cambridge Book of Lesser Poets. Compiled by J. C. Squire. (Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d. net.) This anthology gathers together a fine array of poems which *The Oxford Book of English Verse* and *The Golden Treasury* could not squeeze within their covers. Mr. Squire was sixteen when Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's book appeared, and night after night he still reads it. It has prompted him to prepare this Anthology of the Minors. Over a hundred poets have been deliberately excluded, all the ballads have been left out, and many anonymous poems have been inserted. Hundreds of collections have been examined, and Mr. Squire hopes that the less familiar pieces will give his readers as much pleasure in the perusal as he has had in finding them. It is certainly a delight to turn the pages and find old friends and new

clustering side by side. Blackmore's 'In the Hour of Death,' Mordaunt's 'Sound, Sound the Clarion,' and other poets with a single string are here, and we welcome them all to a volume which will be as often in many of our hands as *The Oxford Book of English Verse* has been in Mr. Squire's.—*The New Soul in China*. (Abingdon Press. \$1.) Bishop Grose says that the civil strife in China is really a struggle between north and south, between militarism and the nationalism of which Sun Yat Sen is the embodiment. The attitude of the Western nations ought to be one of strict non-interference. The mind of China is clamorous for knowledge, and the central place in the thinking of the people is being given to Jesus Christ. The moral mood is favourable for a great religious awakening, for there is a strong undercurrent of spiritual expectancy beneath all the present movements. 'When the people find God—the God who is seen in the face of Jesus Christ—they will get a new soul. That will make the New China.'—*A Nonagenarian's Experiences and Observations in Many Lands*. By S. H. Stott. (Epworth Press. 2s.) Mr. Stott's father went out as a missionary to South Ceylon in 1880, and he was born at Trincomalie in 1886. After the father returned to England, his son went into business. He was afterwards trained for a missionary, and in 1863 was appointed to Trincomalie. Three years later he joined his father, who had gone to work among the Indian coolies in Natal, and did fruitful work in South Africa, which was continued long after he became a supernumerary at the age of seventy. It is a story of happy service, enlivened by many pleasing incidents of work both in Ceylon and South Africa.—*The Melody of Speech*, by Edgar B. Skeet (Harrison & Sons, 2s. net), classifies words into expressions of thought, and indicates the value of the words employed in the expression of the thought. That is the burden of this ingenious little book. *The Redcaps' Annual* (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.) is as full of delights as it can hold. Pictures and text outvie each other in surprises and wonders.

Lax of Poplar, by Himself, (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.), has half a century of heroic labour behind it, and every page has its charm. The two burglars were dangerous fellows, but the missionary, who strangely found himself in their company, had tea with them and got them set on the right road. The Chinaman who kept a doss-house turned to Mr. Lax when he stood in danger of plunder and murder, and he and his hoard of £2,800 were got safely to Hong-Kong. Little children figure largely in the story, and Mr. and Mrs. Lax move in and out among them as the guardian angels of Poplar. No romance of the season is so thrilling as this unvarnished record of a devoted ministry in East London. To see Mr. Lax on the merry-go-round is itself a sensation.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (April).—Professor Kennedy writes on 'The Political Development of Canada' since 1867, when it became our oldest self-governing Dominion. He refers to the crisis under Lord Byng, and shows that by resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926 a Governor-General will in future be the personal representative of the King, guided uniformly by ministerial advice. Dr. Henson traces the history of Prayer-Book revision, examines the contents of the Composite Book, and indicates what would be the consequences of its rejection. Mr. Coulton describes the origins of the Inquisition. In 'Beethoven's Sonatas,' Mr. Sampson says he was seer as well as musician. 'The tender poet and the rapt seer are to be found more readily in his compositions for piano than in his works for strings or chorus or orchestra. It is this companionable presence of something half divine that puts the sonatas of Beethoven among the most precious volumes in the world.' Dr. E. J. Thompson, in 'The Suppression of Suttee in Native States,' holds that if the Government was needlessly timid in prohibiting it in British India, it made amends in the following years by the persistence with which it took its opportunities in the native States.

Hibbert Journal (April).—In the opening article, Mr. M'Connachie introduces to his readers the 'Teaching of Karl Barth,' one of the leaders in 'a new positive movement in theology.' Dr. Barth's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, in 1918, 'fell like a bomb on the playground of the theologians,' though the Evangelical Protestants of our century have not been conspicuous for energy either in defence or offence. Those who would understand Barth's old-new theology, and the movement of which it is a symptom, will find in this article a good introduction to it. The second article, 'What is Love?' by Mary A. Hamilton, is followed by Professor J. S. Mackenzie's illuminating discussion of 'Different Modes of Love and Reverence.' Goethe's 'Three Reverences' are used to point out the distinction between Admiration, Loyalty, and Benevolence, as well as the common bond which unites them. Sir Willoughby Dickinson, writing on 'International Friendship,' rebukes the Churches for not doing their part in promoting it, being too 'timid and doubtful of their own strength.' The article 'Immanence and Transcendence' contains a reply to a recent article in this journal written by Professor Alexander. The writer of the reply is the Rev. M. C. D'Arcy, S.J., who contends that it is quite possible to

regard God as at the same time immanent and transcendent. Some such article was greatly needed, for if Alexander's theories are true, theism becomes impossible. 'A Last Guess at Truth,' by Edmond Holmes, sheds light on this question from another angle, but we fear that many readers will be puzzled by Dr. Holmes's exposition of 'God is Love.' Dr. Herbert Watson, in his paper on 'The Riddle of the New Testament,' slays the already thrice-slain Professor Strömholm, who first brought into being an absurd 'riddle' and then claimed credit for furnishing an incredible solution of it. Other articles are on 'Art and British Commerce,' on 'Empire and Colour,' and 'The Hermetica' ably expounded by Dr. Estlin Carpenter.

Journal of Theological Studies (January).—Under the heading 'Documents,' the Rev. A. Wilmart, O.S.B., deals in a minute and erudite manner with the evidence for the text of St. Augustine's Easter Sermons. Professor C. H. Turner tells his readers that for forty years he has been occupied with the textual criticism of the New Testament, and he gives them a commentary on the text of Mark i. as 'a specimen of what I should like to do for the Gospel as a whole.' The specimen is full of interest, especially in relation to the questions raised by Westcott and Hort's 'comparative neglect of what is called the Western text.' The title "'Bees" in Clement of Alexandria' provokes curiosity, and some may be disappointed when they find that the subject intended is 'the sweet and profitable knowledge of the Logos,' to be culled throughout the garden of the universe. Dr. Burkitt contributes an interesting note on Luke xxii. 17-20, and Dr. Hatch expounds the meaning of τὰ στοιχεῖα in St. Paul. The reviews of books are full of interest. They include three volumes written by Methodist scholars, Dr. Maldwyn Hughes, Dr. Vincent Taylor, and Dr. D. W. Lewis.

Church Quarterly (April).—Canon Smith of Gloucester has produced an excellent number. The 'plea for the revision of the Massoretic Text' throws new light on many passages of Proverbs and Isaiah. In 'The Pious Englishman, 1600-1800,' the editor says that the country parson did most to establish and maintain the ideal of piety. There were many scandals among the clergy, but in hundreds of parsonages a standard of piety was set which found expression in the life of the parish. The Bishop of Gloucester writes an important article on 'Religious Education.' 'A great deal of the extravagance of the educational system has arisen from the excessive desire of the educational authorities to supersede the religious bodies.'

Holborn Review (April).—The articles in this number are judiciously varied and of present-day interest. The Rev. R. Ferguson deals with 'The Value of Biography to the Student and Preacher.' The Rev. F. M. Kelley, in his paper, 'When Black meets White,' urges that, while men speak of the clash of colour, 'in the

wide spaces of God's open world, colours blend.' Mr. W. Cannon, under the heading, 'Levi—the Curse and the Blessing,' points the contrast between the imprecation pronounced upon the tribe of Levi in Gen. xlix. 6 and the blessing bestowed in Deut. xxxiii. 8. 'The Divine Right of King Demos,' by the Rev. E. Fisher, discusses the merits and demerits of modern democracy. The Rev. C. P. Groves, B.A., B.D., contributes thoughtful notes and studies upon 'Anthropology and Missions.' Dr. Peake, the editor of this review, provides, in addition to his interesting 'Notes,' a separate article on 'Recent Biblical Literature.' Few men are better able than Dr. Peake, first to master the varied literature here described, and secondly to describe its character and appraise its value. Under the headings 'Discussions and Notices,' the 'Study Circle,' and 'Current Literature,' abundant and varied provision is made for Bible students of all types and grades.

The Congregational Quarterly (April).—Mr. Shepherd writes on Beethoven, 'one of God's most wonderful gifts to the world.' Professor Cadoux, in 'A Defence of Christian Modernism,' holds that 'the basis of our faith is not weakened by withdrawing it from the external and objective things and locating it in the inner witness of God's Holy Spirit.' The article on 'London Congregationalism Sixty Years ago' is of special interest. Mr. Dukes remembers when the suburban roads were so unsafe that leather collars with spikes were sold in the shops for people to put on at night as a protection against garroters. It is a fresh and varied number.

Expository Times (April).—Professor W. T. Paterson continues his suggestive exposition of the Parables of the Treasure and the Pearl. Under the general title 'Present-Day Faiths,' Dr. W. H. Rigg describes in interesting fashion 'Evangelicalism within the Church of England.' The paper by the Rev. T. C. Gordon on 'Baha'ism and Christianity' provides an interesting comparison and contrast between the two types of religion named. The surveys of 'Recent Foreign Theology' are instructive. The Rev. J. W. Jack discusses notable books in French theology, and Dr. J. G. Tasker deals with 'Protestantism in Post-War Germany.' Other writers in this number are the Rev. J. T. Hudson, B.D. (Hale), the Rev. Dr. Ballard, and the Rev. V. D. Siddons, B.A. (Wealdstone).

Science Progress (April).—Mr. Toy, of Queen's College, Taunton, writes on 'Our Total Solar Eclipse' of June 27, which will be the first opportunity of seeing such an eclipse from this country for more than two hundred years. Illustrations are given of eclipse tracks, and, even though a veil of cloud should hide all trace of the corona, the terrific onrush of the moon's shadow through the air will make a profound impression. The Notes include one on 'Pest Destruction by Aeroplane.' If the tsetse fly could thus be destroyed in Africa, it would be an enormous gain. Germany has been using the aeroplane

to eradicate insect pests, and recently the French forests near Hagenau were thus sprayed to get rid of a plague of caterpillars.

Bulletin of Rylands Library (January).—Professor Peake has been chosen as Chairman of the Council of Governors, on the removal of Sir Henry Miers to London. The Library needs about £2,000 to provide book storage and room for readers. Expenses grow, and the income is severely taxed to meet its expanding work. Professor Farquhar, in an important paper, holds that the balance of probability is now distinctly in favour of the apostolate of Thomas in South India. Professor Rand's lecture on 'St. Martin of Tours' is of special interest, and there is much food for students in other papers.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (Chicago) (March).—This number opens with an interesting Symposium on the Definition of Religion, conducted by Professors Brightman, Durant Drake, and Eustace Haydon. Each has something to say worth listening to as an answer to the question, What is Religion? The most important feature is Dr. Brightman's distinction between a 'descriptive' and a 'normative' definition, and the chief point at issue seems to be whether there can or cannot be a religion without a God. The prophet Amos has often been expounded; here a paper by D. E. Thomas seeks to unfold the 'experience underlying his social philosophy.' One important lesson enforced is that 'the results of godlessness fall less heavily upon the generation that practises it than upon those whom they beget.' In a paper on 'Environment as a Factor in the Achievement of Self-consciousness in Early Christianity,' D. W. Riddle dwells on the power of Christianity to adapt itself 'to the Graeco-Roman world,' urging that this 'gave it the vital power to make it the world-movement which it became.' Surely the 'power' did not come from the 'world'? The title of the article, 'Missions and the Mores,' will not be understood by an English reader unless he knows that the Latin word *mores* is meant, though not here italicized. Some good things are said by the writer, though he dwells too much upon abstractions and gives too few concrete illustrations of the way in which to 'uproot the mores' (*sic*). The reviews of books, among other topics, discuss the question, 'Are City Churches Effectively Organized?'

Harvard Theological Review.—The January number contains an account of 'A Papyrus Fragment of Acts in the Michigan Collection,' by Professor Henry A. Sanders. The two pages of the double sheet contain Acts xviii. 27–xix. 6; xix. 12–16. Attention is called to the cumulative weight of the evidence that 'the Western text once existed in Egypt and Syria as well as in Italy and all the West'; it was 'the current provincial text of the second and third centuries.' 'The Career of the Prophet Hermas' is discussed at length by William

Jerome Wilson. It is held that the idea of the angelic Shepherd was derived from a pagan book, but the traces of paganism tend to disappear in the later visions. Yet Judaistic and Graeco-Roman influences continue to affect Hermas. 'Out of just such religious syncretism was Catholic Christianity formed.' Professor Maurice Goguel, of Paris, gives valuable and detailed information concerning the series of publications entitled *Christianisme*, which are appearing under the editorship of Dr. P. L. Couchoud. The condemnation passed upon it by Pius X is thought to be unwarranted, but regret is expressed that some of the contributors 'give evidence of a certain hostility at least to the traditional forms of the Christian religion.' The theories of these extremists 'ought not to be presented as summing up the work of criticism during the past generation.'

Methodist Review (March—April) contains several timely articles suitable for Eastertide—'The Resurrection Appearances,' by Bishop Cooke, 'The Significance of the Resurrection for Me,' 'Immortality: the Foundation of Man's Belief,' and 'The Passion and the Cross,' a subject intimately connected with Christian views of Easter. This last article itself, however, is by a Swedenborgian, and the editor appends to it a judicious note. The next two articles, 'The Existence of the Soul' and 'Agnosticism,' bear upon some foundation principles of Christian faith. The lively paper on 'Other Sheep,' by J. L. Cole, is intended for American readers, but its lessons are needed by men of all nationalities. Other articles in an excellent number are 'A Peking Laboratory,' by a Chinese missionary, and 'The Present Missionary Morale,' by Bishop Grose, the latter being specially suggestive.

Princeton Theological Review (January).—The first article, on 'The Names of God in the Psalms,' by R. D. Wilson, describes its own examination of the subject as 'wearisome,' but comes to the conclusion that the *prima facie* evidence is in favour of the headings of the psalms, that no proof to invalidate their testimony has been adduced, and that 'Christ and the apostles and the Church in all ages have been right in treating all of them, headings included, as a part of the infallible word of God.' The title of the second article will be better understood by American than by English readers—'Does the Behaviourist have a Mind?' But the writer's conclusion is irrefutable—'When consciousness goes, conscience goes with it, and when free will and responsibility are denied' there is no room left for religion. The article on 'Christ in the Light of Eschatology' deals temperately and ably with a difficult subject. We agree with the writer, L. Berkhof, when he says, 'The Gospels . . . make it impossible for us to accept the interpretation of the eschatological school as a well-balanced presentation of the truth.'

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (January—February).—Dr. Louis Barber, of Victoria College, Toronto, writes on 'Wesley, an Evolutionist.' The article is based on Dr. Eayrs's 'delightful

work' on *Wesley, Christian Philosopher and Church Founder*. He says, 'The wonder is, not that Wesley knew so little of modern scientific conclusions, but that he accepted so much.' 'He not only kept abreast of the great thinkers of his day, but did not fear to introduce his ministers to such men, nor to discuss their theories and conclusions.' The number is varied and valuable.—(March—April).—In 'William Law: A Critical Appreciation,' Professor Marshall holds that from living in too narrow a groove his judgement was often at fault, but that he has a message which we sorely need to-day. In neglect of private prayer he finds the tap-root of our moral and spiritual poverty and impotence. He also holds that, in spite of their meagre prayers, Christians often live like heathens—as secular in tone and temper as those who never pray at all. 'Multitudes of churchgoers would enter into a new life and a new world if they would pay careful heed to Law's *Serious Call*.'

Christian Union Quarterly (April).—Dean Lhamon, of Columbia University, asks, 'Can the Bible be the Basis of Union?' Much of our sectarian devotion to the Bible is too magical and irrational. The scholars must give us the real Bible in the totality of its inspiration, its revelation, and its guidance, 'co-ordinated with the vast and catholic spirit of the living God and Father of Jesus, and the vast and catholic needs of the one human brotherhood.' Many phases of Christian Union are dealt with in other articles.

FOREIGN

Calcutta Review (March).—The address of the Vice-Chancellor at the Annual Convocation of Calcutta University points out that a serious attempt has at last been made to improve the school education of a population of forty-five millions. The Senate has approved a scheme for creating a Board of Secondary Education. 'Patna Revisited' is by S. K. Bukhsh. The city of his boyhood has largely disappeared. The Patna of to-day is astir with life. 'A new world of architectural splendour; of broad, spacious roads; of busy, lively commercial activity; of feverish political excitement; of social amenities and amusements, greets you as you walk within its ancient walls.'

Analecta Bolandiana (Tomus XIV., Fasc. i. and ii.).—Père Delahaye edits the Life of St. Jean l'Aumonier, by Léonce, Bishop of Néopolis, in the island of Cyprus, which is greatly appreciated as a hagiographical work, and is also an important historical document, as to a period concerning which the chroniclers are almost entirely silent. The Greek text has never before been edited. Much light is thrown on life in Egypt at the time when Jean was Bishop of Alexandria. The number contains an unedited account of the conversion of St. Hubert, and the oldest catalogue of relics at Orviedo.